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WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. XC, No. 2 APRIL, 1961

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For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, April, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Five Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

Hugh Francis Kennedy, S.J.
The Army Years

Gerard F. Giblin, S.J.

When Hugh Francis Kennedy died in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1955, he had been eighteen years a priest. Two of these years had been spent as a missionary in the Philippines and fourteen of them as an Army chaplain. These two strenuous ministries should by all rights have been barred to Hugh Kennedy by reason of his poor health. But Hugh was adept at ignoring the demands of ill health. He also knew how to circumvent Army red tape to get past physicals, so much so that a general later characterized Hugh by referring to him as a "splendid and clever chiseler."

Hugh Francis Kennedy joined the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus in 1926 when he was eighteen years old. After his juniorate he was sent out for one year of regency at Loyola High School, Baltimore, and then took the three years of philosophy and four of theology in one continuous stretch at Woodstock. He suffered continually from ill health and was frequently seen at the specials cart getting his eggs and toast.

In 1938, while in tertianship at St. Andrew, he wrote to his sister Julia to tell her that he was one of the few priests of the forty in his year who had been picked for the Philippine mission. Hugh apologized that she would never see him as rector of Fordham University nor sit in the rector's official

Author's Note: I would like to thank the following people who supplied me with information on the life of Father Hugh Kennedy: Father Timothy A. Curtin, S.J., of the New York Provincial's Office; Mrs. Julia Henry (Father Kennedy's sister) and Mr. Harold V. Kennedy (Father Kennedy's brother); Father Bernard M. Lochboehler, S.J., of the Philippine Province Provincial's Office; Msgr. Joseph F. Marbach of the Office of the Military Ordinariate; Msgr. William J. Moran, Brigadier General, Deputy Chief of Chaplains, USA; Father Eugene J. O'Keefe, S.J. My further thanks are due to Father O'Keefe, Mrs. Henry, Mr. Edmond J. Kennedy (Father Kennedy's brother), and Mr. William P. Klintworth, S.J. for reading over the manuscript form of this biography.

box at football games in the Polo Grounds. But he invited her to his future installation feast as rector of some college on Mindanao where she would be able to feast on "bird's nest soup and shark fins, topped off by some half-hatched chickens just out of the shell."

While at St. Andrew Hugh wrote to the Office of the Military Ordinariate in New York to obtain a chaplain's commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army. He felt that such a commission would be valuable to him in his mission work, for it would give him access to numerous Americans stationed overseas. The Office was eager to listen to such requests and asked Hugh to undergo a physical examination. Hugh however had neglected to include one vital statistic in his application for a commission. He had contracted a case of polio at the age of seven and the thigh muscles of his left leg had contracted. As a result his left leg was one inch shorter than his right and he walked with a limp. The doctor took one look at Hugh when he came in for the physical and said flatly, "No".

But Hugh did not surrender so easily. He wrote a letter to the Adjutant General of the United States Army. "My father is a retired Army Officer who spent time campaigning in the Philippines, and, if at all possible, I would like to follow in his footsteps. I know nothing would delight him more."

Hugh got two generals of the New York National Guard and the Major General of the Signal Corps to write him letters of recommendation. He pushed his appeal all the way to the top of the Army hierarchy until the final refusal came from Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War. Father William R. Arnold, who was later to become Chief of Chaplains, wrote: "Don't be too disappointed. Thirteen out of fifteen priests under the age of thirty-four who apply for commissions are rejected on physical grounds." So Hugh desisted for a while.

In the course of his fight for a commission Hugh was sent to the Philippines. On May 31, 1939, a departure ceremony was held at St. Francis Xavier, New York. The printed program showing the pictures of the missionaries interchanged the photographs of Fathers Hugh Kennedy and Eugene O'Keefe. It was an omen. Their careers were to be intimately linked in the years of captivity.

Hugh's first assignment in the Philippines was at San José, Balintawak, where he took final vows August 15, 1940. Then he was transferred as Dean of Men to Cagayan in Mindanao where he was when war broke out.

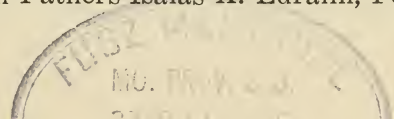
Although most Americans stateside were unaware of the possibility of a Japanese war, those in the Philippines were acutely conscious of the tense situation. Hugh wrote to console his sister in June of 1941, "If war comes I don't think that we will be in too much trouble. We may be isolated from Manila for a while, but it will be Manila where the center of the campaign will take place (if at all)." If Hugh was enough of a strategist to realize this, then he had enough sense to know that Mindanao, the largest island in the south, was the next stop.

As 1941 drew to a close, the American military tensed for war. Pilots on alert slept in the cockpits of their P-40's on Clark Field, and the big guns of Corregidor trained toward the sea. But when the moment of attack finally came the Japs caught the fighter planes unmanned on the ground, and enemy troopships ignored the mouth of Manila Bay to sneak in the back door at Lingayen.

As the armies mobilized, so did the Jesuits. On Luzon to the north Fathers Pablo M. Carasig, Juan E. Gaerlan and Pacifico Ortiz joined the Philippine Army. Father Gaerlan was to die on the Death March, bayonetted or machine gunned, no one knows which, for his body was never recovered. Father Ortiz was attached to the staff of the President of the Philippines and left the Islands with him just before the surrender. After the Bataan campaign Father Carasig managed to join the guerilla forces in August 1944.

Two New England Province Jesuits were also on Luzon at this time: Fathers John J. Dugan and Thomas A. Shanahan. Father Dugan had been called to active duty in 1937 to work with the CCC. He had been sent to the Philippines in October 1941 on a routine tour of duty. Father Shanahan was on loan to the Ateneo de Manila. He left the Islands on the *S.S. Mactan,* an improvised hospital ship. When he reached Australia he was appointed to the rank of Captain in the Chaplain Corps by General MacArthur personally.

On Mindanao to the south Fathers Isaias X. Edralin, Pedro



M. Dimaano, Carl W. Hausmann and Eugene J. O'Keefe also joined the Army. All were to spend some years in captivity. Father Hausmann was eventually to die off the coast of Formosa and his body was slipped into the sea.

Father Andrew F. Cervini applied for a commission, but, though accepted, he was never assigned to an Army unit. All through the war he waited in civilian internment the dreaded question: "Have you ever been a member of the American military?" The question was never asked.

Hugh Kennedy made one final attempt to get into the Army. The limp did not count for so much now. On Luzon Jesus Villamor, the Philippine Army pilot, was flying a biplane against the nimble Jap Zero fighters; Lieutenant John D. Bulkeley with his wooden PT boats broke up a serious Japanese landing attempt behind the Bataan lines. In Mindanao young Filipinos were learning to shoot with Lee-Enfield rifles, World War I relics that malfunctioned almost as often as they worked. The Army was beginning to learn that an heroic spirit could make even a faulty weapon a dangerous one to the enemy. Hugh Kennedy, though still officially a civilian, was allowed to tag along with the Army.

He worked with the 101st Infantry Division, Philippine Army.[1] It was a sprawling unit, seventeen thousand men strong. It had no artillery to speak of, it had no air support, it had no source of supply but the country off which it lived. But as it watched Jap seaplanes making lazy, unopposed reconnaissance overhead, it was eager to fight.

The Division as woefully understaffed with chaplains. The Table of Organization called for one chaplain per thousand men; therefore seventeen for the 101st. Instead the unit had, besides Hugh, two Filipino priests and one Protestant minister in a unit that was, nominally at least, 90% Catholic. The Protestant minister took care of the many Americans who officered the Division.

Hugh tried to remedy the shortage of chaplains by getting more civilian help. He contacted Father Mongeau, O.M.I., who supplied him with three Oblate priests.

[1] Not to be confused with another more famous 101st Division, the American airborne unit that fought off the Germans at Bastogne.

The Enemy Arrives

On December 20, 1941, the Japanese invaded Mindanao. At four o'clock in the morning Lieutenant Colonel Toshio Miura led his battalion ashore. The Filipino regiment holding the area thought that the ships in Davao Gulf were an American relief expedition and held fire. They soon discovered their mistake. The force of 5,000 Japanese quickly pushed aside the 2,000 Philippine Army troops who opposed them, but not before they had suffered severe casualties from machine gun fire.

That evening the Japanese stopped their advance, and the Philippine Army unit congratulated itself having halted the Japanese. However the Japanese had moved the distance their plan called for. They were only establishing an air base on Mindanao. The real decision was to be fought out in the north.

On the morning of January 8, 1942, several waves of Japanese bombers attacked the 101st Division stations at Camp Casisang, Malaybalay, and inflicted severe casualties. The Beaterio nuns turned a dormitory into an auxiliary hospital.

On the front lines Brigadier General Joseph P. Vachon, commanding the Cotabato-Davao Sector, was pleased with the activities of the civilian chaplain Hugh Kennedy and approved his commission. On April 16, 1942, Hugh was sworn in to the Army as First Lieutenant, Corps of Chaplains.

The morale of the Cotabato-Davao Force was extremely high. They figured on giving the Japanese a tough fight when the enemy finally appeared in strength on the island. The force felt that it could hold out until help came from the United States. In the unlikely eventuality that help did not come, they could always take to the hills as guerillas. Guerilla fighting would be simple. At that time Mindanao had for all practical purposes only two roads: Highway #1 which stretched across the narrow waist of Mindanao from Davao to Cotabato, then up along the coast to Surigao; and Highway #3 which bisected the Davao-Cotabato road and ran north to Tagoloan. The Japanese advance would stop once they controlled the highways. The hills would belong to the guerillas.

At the end of April and the beginning of May when Bataan

had fallen and Corregidor was firing its last guns in defiance, the Japanese landed on Mindanao in force. They pushed back the Philippine Army and split off the southern half of the Island by driving across from Digos to Cotabato.

But the destiny of Mindanao was not to be decided by battle. A strange order from the north sealed its fate. On May 6, General Wainwright was compelled to surrender Corregidor. General Homma let it be known that the Americans who surrendered on Corregidor would not be considered prisoners of war until the whole of the Philippines surrendered. In other words, if Wainwright did not surrender Mindanao, the General and the men captured with him would be killed. It was a cleverly insinuated threat, never written down, and the American prosecutors of Homma could prove nothing after the war.

Wainwright was aware of the atrocities of the Death March and knew that the enemy was capable of carrying out his threat. Despite the fact that he had officially released the Mindanao Force, he ordered it to surrender. MacArthur gasped from Australia, "I believe Wainwright has temporarily become unbalanced."

The Philippine Army on Mindanao was indignant at the order. Some refused to comply and went to the hills. Others, aware of the Japanese threat to their comrades on Corregidor, decided to surrender. Hugh's course was clear to him. He joined the Americans and Filipinos who surrendered their weapons at kilometer post 130, Cotabato, May 10, 1942. At Nangka Father O'Keefe's 61st Division Field Artillery (so called, though it had no cannon) also surrendered. So began what Hugh later described as his thousand days of hell.

The first days of captivity were spent at Camp Casisang, Malaybalay. In comparison with those captured on Bataan their treatment was not too bad. The Filipino doctors of the 101st Division were allowed to open a hospital in the camp to care for the wounded. The prisoners were able to show a measure of defiance to the Japanese by establishing contact with a guerilla unit. The messages were carried by two young girls, Caridad and Remedios Gabor. Through the guerillas some Americans managed to escape.

The food situation was poor and deteriorated as the war

went on. The Japanese had enough to eat, and the Americans were infuriated to see the soldiers emptying half eaten mess kits of rice into the garbage pail. The Japanese encouraged the Americans to work on farms, promising them that their food ration would be increased. But the promise was not kept. At times the food situation was desperate. Dogs, cats and even rats wandered into the prisoners' compound at their own risk.

In October the Americans and Filipinos were separated. This was part of a Japanese policy to split off Filipino loyalty from the United States. Later on in the war, just prior to the American return, the Japanese were to make a large concession to the Filipinos in order to win their support. They freed most Filipino prisoners of war. But the majority of the Filipinos refused to be won over. They knew that near Camp O'Donnell on Luzon there were common graves containing the bodies of more than 30,000 Filipinos, prisoners of war who had died from starvation, beatings and bayonets.

Fathers Kennedy and O'Keefe were sent with the other Americans to Davao. Here conditions were very poor. The barracks that were occupied were crowded to overflowing while others stood inexplicably empty. The latrines were about fifteen yards from the barracks and the stench overwhelmed the men. Most infuriating of all, the prisoners could see wild pigs eating fruit fallen from trees, food which the Japanese could have given them, but did not.

The Japanese frequently maltreated the prisoners. Major Charles H. Harrison was recaptured by the enemy after an escape attempt. His screams were heard throughout the camp that night as the Japanese tortured him to death. Other prisoners were subjected to electric shock treatment and brutal beatings with bamboo poles.

Despite the very real threat of retaliation, Hugh stood up to the Japanese. On July 26, 1943 a general inspection of all prisoners' properties was ordered. The Americans had to bring their gear onto the parade grounds outside the barbed wire fence. Three Japanese officers examined the baggage while from eight o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon three hundred weary Americans stood in the hot sun. The Japanese confiscated all books found, but per-

mitted the prisoners to keep what the Japanese considered sacred books. In this way Hugh got back some books of Latin poetry because the Japanese could not understand the language.

After the inspection Hugh formally protested to the Japanese commandant, Major Maida, asking the return of the books. This officer ignored the request, and Hugh repeated it several times. Finally the books were returned, but put in a common library with the Japanese commandant as Head Librarian. There was a catch however. All prisoners on work details could read the books; all prisoners in hospitals, since by Japanese standards they were shirkers, were not allowed reading matter. Those on work details had no time to read. They worked all day and came back to a blacked out camp. Major Maida completed his petty tyranny by protesting to the American senior officer, Lieutenant Colonel Olsen, that Hugh was a trouble maker and probably the most selfish man in the camp.

While at Davao many prisoners were forced to work for the Japanese. One group worked at Lasang on a landing strip. The men became adept at banging the same hole again and again with a pick, deceiving the Japanese that they were working, receiving lavish praise from the Japanese commander for their efforts, but actually accomplishing little. These heroic men were murdered almost to a man in late 1944 to prevent their recapture by American forces. Fathers O'Keefe and Hausmann joined those working at Furikawa Plantation in a hope of relieving the food shortage at Davao Penal Colony.

Hugh was not able to join the working forces because he was so frequently in the hospital. His sicknesses were later itemized in a doctor's report when he was recovered by American forces: malaria (February 1943); swelling of the legs, probably due to beri-beri (June 1943 to June 1944); dysentery (summer 1944). His weight went down from 185 to 125 pounds. Despite his illnesses, when the men were shipped out of Davao north to Cabanatuan, Hugh was seen sharing his rice supply with those sicker than he.

In the States Hugh's family had no idea what had happened to him. At the end of December 1941 his sister Julia had

received back a letter she had mailed at the beginning of the month: "Return to Sender. Service Suspended." Hugh's father wrote anxiously to Army officials but was informed with regret that the Army had no information. It was May 1943 before Hugh was officially reported as a POW.

In December 1943 Julia received a post card written by Hugh in April. It was a form card where the writer underlined certain phrases or filled in the blanks.

IMPERIAL JAPANESE ARMY

1. I am interned at Phil Mil Prison Camp No. 2
2. My health is excellent; good; fair; poor.
3. I am—uninjured; under treatment; not under treatment.
4. I am—improving; not improving; better; well.
5. Please see that Provincial, Horgan, Towers, Piderit, Bowes and all Jesuits are well. Love to Stewart and Aunt Anna.
6. (Re: Family): Wrote Dad but not certain of his address. Hope Tom & Henrys are well. Remember all at Mass. Enough food.
7. Please give my best regards to Dad, Brothers, Purcell, Aunt Anna.

Statements 2 and 3 were pious exaggerations; his health was poor and he was under treatment. The end of statement 6 could almost be called a lie: there was never enough food. On January 31, 1944, the family received a truer statement of Hugh's condition. An escaped American officer reported that Hugh was a bed patient in a Japanese Prison Camp at Davao and said that he was in fair condition.

To Luzon

In June of 1944 the Japanese decided to remove their prisoners from Davao and concentrate them on Luzon. Fathers O'Keefe, Hausmann and Kennedy were herded into a Japanese transport. More feared than the guards by the prisoners were prowling American submarines. A previous transport bound from Davao had been sunk with many prisoners aboard.

Its holds stuffed with twelve hundred American prisoners of war, the transport left Davao on June 6. After a four

days stopover at Fort San Pedro, Cebu City, they arrived in Manila about the 26th of the month.

It was a difficult voyage. The daily allowance of water was one canteen plus two small mess kits of rice. Hugh frequently gave half his ration to the sick.

On the voyage Hugh was beaten by Japanese guards. Lieutenant Colonel Dieter, a doctor, had ordered Hugh to assist another doctor in caring for a number of patients who had been removed from the hold of the transport and placed on the hatch cover. These men were suffering from exhaustion due to conditions below deck. While caring for the men, Hugh was beaten by a Japanese guard with his rifle butt across the shoulders and back.

When the transport arrived in Manila Bay the prisoners were kept in the hold for two days before being disembarked. Then, weak and sick, they were unloaded from the vessel and imprisoned at Bilibid. From there they were finally removed to Cabanatuan.

Cabanatuan held prisoners who were captured on Bataan. It also contained the remnants of those who had spent their earlier days of imprisonment at Camp O'Donnell where the death rate had been at one time between three and four hundred a day.

By the time that Hugh arrived at Cabanatuan the Camp had long been accustomed to the unchanging, bitter routine of prison life. But in mid-September the tired men received new hope. They saw a sight they had been afraid they would never see again. The news of the American progress in the Pacific Theater had been carefully kept from them by their captors. They did not realize how imminent deliverance was. As they looked into the sky the prisoners saw planes, hundreds of them, types they had never seen before, dully camouflaged with Navy blue. They did not know them as Corsairs, Helldivers, Avengers, but they did recognize the white star on the wings, a symbol that had been driven from the sky with such utter finality in the early days of 1942. Many of the men openly and unashamedly shed tears. The planes passed to bomb Clark Field and Manila Bay. At the end of the day the Japanese claimed that the American bombing force had been wiped out. But again the next day American

planes roared over and some dipped their wings in salute. Either American production had remarkable capacity to restore losses or the Japanese were out and out liars. Either way the prognostic for continued Japanese tenancy of the Philippines was poor.

On January 9, 1945, using almost the same beaches which the Japanese had used three years earlier, MacArthur kept his promise to return. Quickly, like grasping fingers, columns of American infantry raced forward towards Manila.

MacArthur was acutely conscious of the fact that the Japanese would kill their prisoners rather than surrender them. With this in view he selected the Sixth Ranger Battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Mucci to prepare rescue for the inmates of Cabanatuan.

The Japanese were aware of MacArthur's interest in the prisoners. Therefore they decided to ship them to Manchuria. "Healthy" prisoners were herded to Manila and placed aboard prison ships. The sick, among them Fathers O'Keefe, Dugan and Kennedy, were left behind as too ill to make the voyage. It was ironic that their very illnesses saved most of them from certain death for, of those sent to Manchuria, few survived.

Among those who were headed for Manchuria was Carl Hausmann.[2] The prison ships were subjected to heavy air attack. One vessel was sunk off Subic Bay and for days the sea tossed up bodies of the American dead. Carl saw sights that drove other men mad. A survivor recounts seeing two West Point officers, father and son, struggling with one another. The son in his madness was trying to kill the father; the father in resigned sadness tried to fend off his son. A bomb hit the hold of the vessel and the Japanese rather than clean up the debris sealed off the compartment, leaving the living to lie with the dead. All through the travail Carl showed such courage, such self-forgetfulness that men called him a saint. He died January 20, ten days before his friends at Cabanatuan were to be liberated.

At Cabanatuan the Americans were not so sure that they would ever be liberated. The Japanese guards abandoned the

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[2] See Father James B. Reuter's article in *Woodstock Letters*, December 1946 (pp. 325-355), "He Kept Silence in Seven Languages."

camp, left food for the Americans, but warned them that if they ventured beyond the barbed wire enclosure they would be shot. Then, strangely, they returned and took up their positions.

Rescue

On January 29, 1945, the American Ranger battalion pushed off from the front lines and infiltrated enemy-held territory. With Filipinos as their guides they worked close to the prison camp on the morning of the 30th. Two Filipino scouts crawled to within 75 feet of the enemy sentries, took notes on their positions, and returned to the Ranger battalion.

By 7:30 that evening the rescue group had worked itself into position and began firing. Within the camp, thinking that the Japanese had begun to slaughter the prisoners, the frightened inmates threw themselves to the ground. Then they saw Americans race through the gates. In unbelief the liberated prisoners were shepherded out of the camp.

At a cost of twenty-seven men on his side Mucci had destroyed five hundred Japanese. Not a prisoner lost his life to enemy action. But two men, exhausted by the excitement of their sudden release, died of heart attacks.

Mucci brought his freed charges back by carabao cart through territory still strongly held by the enemy. When the prisoners were counted, it was found that Hugh was not among them. His name was not among those given out by the War Department as released. Hugh was still behind enemy lines.

When the attack was at its height, Captain James C. Fisher, son of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, noted American novelist and educator, the only doctor among the attacking forces, was mortally wounded. The doctor could not be moved. Hugh remained with him until he died and said some prayers over his hastily dug grave. Then Hugh made the twelve miles back to American lines several hours after the others.

MacArthur was extremely pleased by the rescue, "No other incident of the campaign has given me such personal satisfaction." He decorated every man in the rescue force.

Hugh and the others who had been rescued came back to the United States as conquering heroes. There were inter-

views, receptions, parades. It was as if America, with a guilty conscience over its earlier inability to aid these men, was trying to make amends.

Hugh was assigned to Letterman Hospital, San Francisco. But with his energetic temperament he did not stay there any longer than he had to. The medical report on him notes, "Following a month's sick leave, the patient had entirely regained his normal weight."

Hugh returned to New York City March 16. The next day was St. Patrick's day with its traditional parade. As Hugh joined the reviewers on the steps of the Cathedral, he received an ovation from the bystanders. As he knelt to kiss the ring of Archbishop Spellman, he was a handsome figure in his army uniform, the carabao patch of the 101st Division on his shoulder, a row and a half of campaign ribbons on his breast, and six gold service stripes on his sleeve. It was a splendid tableau that made it perhaps too easy to forget the years of suffering those insignia symbolized.

In the days that followed, Hugh became a sought-after guest of honor. He spoke at a communion breakfast at Mitchell Field, the Fireman's mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Post Office Holy Name Society, the Telephone Ladies Breakfast. He reviewed the cadets at Xavier and was guest of honor at Regis, his old alma mater. He gave a lecture at the Hotel Commodore to raise money for the Philippine mission.

Hugh was eager to get back to priestly work. In September 1945 he was assigned to duty at Letterman. A new annex had been erected to care for liberated POWs. Of all the work that Hugh had done as a priest up to this time, he confessed that he found this new assignment the most tiring because, for a period of two months, the hours ran from six in the morning until twelve at night. But of all his spiritual ministrations he found it the most consoling. He also worked with Army officials to determine the whereabouts of those listed as *Missing in Action* in the Philippines. When he had finished, less than 500 of the men who had been so listed were still unaccounted for.

During this period, at his own expense, Hugh visited about 400 of the families of men who had not returned from the Philippines. Those whom he could not visit he wrote. With

the help of a dictaphone and secretary he sent out about 2,000 letters. He saw the bishops of Portland, Oregon, and Lafayette, Louisiana, from which dioceses Fathers Richard E. Carberry and Joseph V. LaFleur had come, two chaplains who had made the voyage toward Manchuria but had not returned.

As his work at Letterman came to a close, Hugh was eager to get back to the Orient. He put in a request asking for service in the Philippines, but the Army ignored what they considered an eccentric desire. At this time, now that Japan had been defeated, all traffic was coming the other way. Officials could not conceive that anyone would want to go back. Hugh wrote again, citing an Army directive which allowed liberated POWs their choice of theater. He stated that he meant to hold the Army to its promise.

On the first of December Hugh left the United States for Hawaii. His temporary assignment was the 527th Port Battalion. It was an odd assignment. Of the 500 white officers and colored enlisted men, only twelve were Catholic.

In March Hugh was summoned to Manila as a witness in the trial of General Kuo who had been overall commander of prison camps in the Philippines from March 1944 to January 1945. For an Army court Hugh reviewed the years of imprisonment and the many atrocities to which he had been witness and received the thanks of the Army's prosecuting counsel.

With the Paratroops

Hugh was then sent to Japan and took up a most congenial assignment. He had been appointed as chaplain to the 11th Airborne Division. The 11th Airborne was a colorful outfit. It had started out in New Guinea and fought its way up to the Philippines. One of its units had been responsible for the liberation of American civilians at Los Baños, among whom were many Jesuits. The 11th had had a Jesuit chaplain in its three years of combat history, Father Edward J. Dunne of the New York Province, who earned the Bronze Star Medal for heroism on Leyte.

The 11th Airborne was in a period of transition. Its combat veterans were on their way home. The youngsters who took their places were for the most part eighteen-month draf-

tees. They swaggered around in the paratrooper's outfit, the cuffs of trousers bloused into combat boots, giving the impression that it was they who had won the war. Innocents that they were, they were open to all the temptations that pagan Japan had to offer them. They needed a good priest to set their thinking straight. That was to be Hugh's job.

It was at this point that belated honors began to catch up with Hugh. He had been promoted to the rank of Captain one month after his release from the prison camp. Now one year later he was promoted to Major. The promotion was rapid but Hugh would surely have reached this rank during the war if he had not been captured.

He was awarded the Legion of Merit, the second highest award for non-combat service that the Army has. He received it for his service during the period January to May 1942. General Wainwright himself signed the final approval for the award, and it was presented to Hugh in a formal ceremony in the presence of 11th Airborne troops.

He was also awarded the Army Commendation Ribbon by the Adjutant General of the Army for his excellent work the year before in consoling the bereaved families of casualties. The Bronze Star came to him for his heroic sharing of food on the transport from Davao to Manila.

Of all the awards Hugh was most pleased with the Commendation Ribbon. "By sheer accidental circumstances anyone could merit an award for heroism, but the fact that the Adjutant General has recognized my primary function as a chaplain, namely, my ministry, is sufficient reward for any efforts I have expended in the past five years." [3]

There were also awards that Hugh did not receive. He had been informed while in the hospital after his recapture that he would be awarded the Silver Star for remaining with the mortally wounded Captain Fisher. The award was never made. Then there were the two Purple Hearts for wounds received when the Japanese guards beat him on the transport. The scars were still visible when the doctor examined him after his release, and even as late as March 1947 he was still

[3] The texts of Hugh's citations are given in *Woodstock Letters*, November 1960, pp. 452-453.

suffering pain in his shoulder. The Purple Heart with oak leaf cluster was at first awarded and then rescinded, for it was decided that wounds inflicted in beatings did not come under the spirit of the Purple Heart award. Hugh returned the Purple Heart awards and kept silent about the Silver Star.

Hugh's work in Japan required extensive travelling to cover outlying units. It was frequently necessary to make a trip of twelve to fifteen hours in each direction from a central point to say Mass for distant battalions. He covered about 3,000 miles each month.

Hugh got along very well with the 11th Airborne's Commander, Major General Swing. The general was a non-Catholic, and, according to Hugh, a bit suspicious of Roman Catholic padres. A few months with the Division convinced Swing that Hugh was a valuable contribution to the efficiency of the unit. The General invited Hugh to dine at his home one Saturday evening. Hugh declined the invitation saying that Saturday was his night for hearing confessions, and though it might not be official Army working hours, it was still the work for which the Army was paying his chaplain's salary. Hugh received other invitations after that, but none for Saturdays.

At the end of August 1946 Hugh went to glider school and after the period of training was rated as a gliderist. Only his bad leg kept him from becoming a full-fledged parachutist.

Hugh liked his work with the 11th Airborne, but the rumor that the Division was soon scheduled to return to the States made him keep his eye open for another assignment. The opportunity came in June 1947 when he was spending a leave in Mindanao giving a three-day retreat to college students. A Graves Registration unit had asked for a priest, and Hugh was assigned to it for temporary duty.

Graves Registration Unit

The Graves Registration teams were operating at full schedule in those days. Their work was to locate the bodies of dead servicemen and see that they were properly interred. American dead were scattered across the islands of the western Pacific, in graves hastily dug by guerilla forces, in the

fuselages of planes that had crashed into tropical jungles. The Army assigned a chaplain to the work to be certain that interment was carried on with reverence for the dead. With each burial of a Catholic Hugh was photographed praying by the graveside so that a picture could be sent to the next of kin.

When Hugh finished his stay in Mindanao he returned to the 11th Airborne for a short time. But the Graves Registration team still needed a priest, so Hugh returned. He was given jurisdiction over one of the largest parishes since St. Francis Xavier went to the Indies. Hugh was zone chaplain for an area that stretched from Yokohama to Australia and from Guam to Shanghai. If bodies were to be recovered within that area, the assignment could be given Hugh's team. Of course, other teams were also at work, and the labor was divided among them.

Hugh revisited the Philippines. He went to Camp O'Donnell to work at the graves there. The task of identifying the Americans was a comparatively simple one. The identification of the bodies of the thousands of Filipinos had to be given up as a hopeless task, for they had been buried in common graves. As Hugh looked around Camp O'Donnell he was happy to see that all traces of its use as a prison camp had been obliterated. Future generations might mourn the fact that so precious a war memorial had been altered, but those who had suffered in prison camps, Hugh included, did not mourn the change.

Hugh hopped around the islands in his small L-5 liaison plane, visiting the sites of battles, reverently interring the dead, known and unknown. He went to Subic Bay where the bombers had unwittingly slaughtered American prisoners; he visited Bataan and Corregidor. He went east to Saipan and south to New Guinea. On the latter island he visited the Lost Valley where twenty-one Americans, including several members of the Women's Army Corp, had lost their lives in the crash of a C-47 in 1944.

Despite what could be considered the depressing aspects of the work, Hugh was happy in it for the burial of the dead was a priestly work. He understood the consolation it brought to parents back in the United States to realize that their sons

had received, even though belatedly, a Catholic burial service.

These days were not without their dangers. The L-5 was a flimsy plane to be covering the distances in between islands in the Philippines. In addition to the hazard of motor failure, there was the possibility of Huk anti-aircraft fire. Recently these Communist guerillas had shot down another L-5 on patrol. On the ground Hugh was warned not to travel without armed companions. He saw one army vehicle with a .50 caliber bullet hole through the windshield. One night Hugh, finding out that an Army friend was ill, travelled through Huk infested territory to visit him. The Filipinos shook their heads: the American priest was crazy; but then, it is the work of the angels, to take care of crazy priests.

Amateur Spy

Hugh also did a bit of amateur sleuthing for Army intelligence. In a written report he explained Communist infiltration into the Islands, the complexities of Moro-Filipino relationships, the problem of Chinese being smuggled into the Philippines. He presented the complaints of those who protested that they had received no adequate compensation for their war services: compensation had gone frequently to undeserving men, while those who had suffered greatly in the cause of liberation had gone unrewarded.

It as in this frame of mind that Hugh sat down and itemized all the cases of heroism that had come to his attention during his war years in the Philippines, especially those of missionaries and Filipino civilians whose heroic service had frequently gone unnoticed, and who now had only ill-health and poverty to show for their patriotism.

About the beginning of 1948 the Army asked Hugh a direct question: did he intend to remain in the Army? Hugh himself did not know the answer. In 1945 there had been 182 Jesuits in the Army; by 1948 the number was down to fourteen. Did the Provincial want him to stay? Hugh wrote to Father John J. McMahon, then Provincial of the New York Province. Father McMahon answered, "After much deliberation on the matter, I think it is best that you remain on active duty in the Army for the time being."

Now that the Provincial had given his permission, there

was a further question: Did the Army want to keep him? His health was as cantankerous as ever. In April 1947 he wrote, "I was ordered to Tokyo for an annual physical exmaination, because the hospital here at Sapporo would not grant me a waiver on some injuries received in the days of combat. I was able to fast talk some of the doctors and explained the shortage of chaplains. Because the injuries are non-organic and will not become worse, the doctors readily granted me a waiver. As soon as there are sufficient Catholic chaplains I will revert to civilian status."

In 1948 Hugh was scheduled to return to the States. He had compiled more than the normal amount of overseas service time and the Army insisted that he do a tour of duty in the States. "Anything but administrative work," Hugh protested. He wanted to remain with an airborne outfit, so the Army assigned him to the 82nd Airborne Division. At the last minute the assignment was changed. He was sent to Sandia instead.

Sandia

Sandia Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico, was known as a Special Weapons Base. No one was supposed to say what went on there, and from the silence everyone suspected that it was an atomic weapons base, and everyone was right. Hugh was to stay at Sandia from 1948 to 1952. They were tranquil years.

But they were also hard working years. Hugh ran a Holy Name Society that had 150 communicants every month, a Women's Sodality with 125 members; an active Vincent de Paul Society. The Sodality women were encouraged to work at the nearby sisters' hospital where they helped out with light nursing and secretarial duties. Hugh also organized Catholic Action in another practical way. He got volunteers from the Base, from a retired rear-admiral down to an active private "no-class," to paint a hospital corridor for the nuns, thereby saving them several hundred dollars in painters' costs.

He organized a Blessed Sacrament Adoration Society which rotated its members in front of the Blessed Sacrament exposed from noon of first Friday to noon of first Saturday. He had four block rosaries going; one family would say the

rosary before a statue of Our Lady one day; the next day the statue would be passed on to another family until a certain number of families had been covered.

Hugh covered Kirtland Air Force Base before Father Daniel V. Campbell, S.J., was recalled to service during the Korean War and assigned there. Hugh was also made a curate of St. Charles parish, Albuquerque, so that he could carry on work there.

Hugh was in the hospital twice during this period: once from pneumonia and once from sheer physical exhaustion. There were no awards now for his services—the Army is sparing with decorations during peace time. But it made no matter to Hugh. He would have worked just as hard if he had been stationed in some small barrio in Mindanao.

When the Korean War broke out, Hugh was anxious to go overseas. He wrote on July 23, 1950, to Major General Witsell, The Adjutant General of the Army who had awarded him the Commendation Ribbon, by-passing channels as usual when he felt that urgent action was demanded. "I know that some will consider me a fool for making this offer (to go to Korea), but Christ was called a fool when he offered himself for others." In Hugh Kennedy's file this sentence, surrounded though it is by prosaic documents, shines out. In it blazes forth the spirit of St. Ignatius, the spirit which Hugh had long ago made his own. Korea had nothing to offer him in the way of decorations or promotion: he already had those. It offered only cold, fatigue, a chance to serve others. The Army refused Hugh's request: there was to be no reassignment until he finished his tour in the United States. Perhaps it was just as well. When 8th Army units were fragmented and almost annihilated in December 1950 by the Communist armies, many Americans went into prison camps. It is doubtful whether Hugh's health would have withstood another siege behind barbed wire.

By 1952 Hugh was due for reassignment. He asked for the East again, and almost made it. He was assigned tentatively to the Yokohama Command. For Hugh this was a beginning; he might get to Korea yet. But he reckoned without the Army doctors.

The doctors wrote to the commanding general of Sandia

Base: "This officer's personality is extremely well known to us and is such that it would render him incapable of anything less than maximum performance regardless of hazard to himself. Given an administrative position, which would not actually require front line inspections, this officer would be compelled by his own sense of responsibility and obligation to duty to assume such risks and hazards. For these reasons it is felt that assignment anywhere within the proximity of a combat zone or field of activity where he might conceivably subject himself to the above described adverse conditions is contraindicated."

Kaiserslautern

So Hugh's assignment to Yokohama Command was rescinded and he was ordered instead to Western Area Command at Kaiserslautern, Germany. By this time Hugh had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. He left behind in Sandia a fine reputation, "The most enthusiastic, hard working, completely selfless chaplain I have ever known," said one officer friend he left behind at Sandia.

In Germany Hugh gave frequent retreats. Many of these were three day exercises at a monastery or convent (for he also gave them to women dependents of service men), and he averaged six or seven talks a day. The retreat movement within the Army was strong in Germany. The service had opened a retreat house at the Alpine Inn, Berchtesgaden, Germany.

In May 1953 Hugh visited Rome. At Landstuhl Air Base Hugh met two Air Force pilots who were off for a monthly jaunt just to fill up time required to draw flight pay. Hugh talked them into going to Rome. In the Eternal City Hugh met Father Vincent McCormick, then American Assistant, who in turn introduced him to Father General. Hugh looked back on this interview as a high point in his life. "Here was I," he reflected later, "twelve years away from community life, twelve years away from the warmth and friendship of my fellow Jesuits, twelve years treading the wine press alone, and being asked to visit him through whom I had vowed my obedience to God." Hugh asked Father General to pray for the retreat work he was doing for he felt that it was an ex-

tremely valuable apostolate. Father General agreed with him and Hugh knelt for a blessing.

Hugh's health failed him again in the Spring of 1955. He was once more in the hospital with pneumonia. "His spirits are good; his complexion and general facial appearance are not so good," wrote a friend who visited him.

But by May Hugh was out of the hospital and spent his leave in the Holy Land. On his return he found that he had been assigned to the advanced course at the Chaplains' School, Fort Slocum, New York. On July 26, as Hugh was boarding the plane that was to take him to the States, he collapsed. He was rushed to the 97th General Hospital at Frankfurt where he had been a patient a few weeks before.

Hugh received the last sacraments. Though Army doctors were not convinced that Hugh would die, he himself felt otherwise. He told the priest who administered the last rites, "I have been waiting for heaven for forty-seven years. If I have to go now, it's alright."

The doctors discovered a previously concealed heart condition and placed him on the critical list. On August 3, 1955 Father Lambert, an Army chaplain, dropped in to see Hugh at 11 o'clock in the morning. While the priest was speaking to him, Hugh took several quick gasping breaths and died. In stunned silence Father Lambert raised his hand for a final absolution.

Hugh was given a High Mass at St. Sebastian's Church, Frankfurt. About seventy-five priests and several high ranking Protestant chaplains were present. Father John L. Barry, a Jesuit Army chaplain, preached the sermon.

When Hugh's body was returned to the United States another mass was said at St. Ignatius, New York City. Bishop Arnold, who, on leaving his post as Army Chief of Chaplains, was appointed to the Military Ordinariate, was due to preside. But Cardinal Spellman decided otherwise.

The Cardinal had just returned from an exhausting trip to Brazil. He sat at his desk at 9:15 that morning but found he could not keep his mind on his work. He called a priest friend: "I can't concentrate on anything while a priest who served the military so faithfully as Hugh Kennedy is being

buried only thirty blocks away." So the busy Cardinal took time out to preside at Hugh's funeral.

There was a solemn high mass. "The Jesuits haven't improved in their ceremonies, but their intentions were good," commented one visitor. The visitor was also impressed by the demeanor of Hugh's eighty-eight year old father who knelt upright, as reverently as a boy at his first communion.

Hugh was buried at St. Andrew. Long ago when Hugh Kennedy had entered the Society, he had placed his hand in God's. It was God who led him to Cagayan and Malaybalay, to Davao and Cabanatuan; through the Western Pacific, to Sandia, to Frankfurt. And in the end, after the long years as a journeyer, it was God at last who brought him to rest among his own.

Gathering Retreat Material as a Scholastic

Donald Smythe, S.J.

The Jesuit professor had just made a remarkable statement. He was addressing a group of scholastics, urging them, in preparation for their future sermons, conferences, and retreats, to begin a system of notes while they were still in their studies, to gather material then for their future work.

"You will find when you get to tertianship and come to write your retreat," he said, "that you have all the theory, all the dogma, all the principles. What you need is more than that. When you go out to talk to people, that is not what moves them. People are moved much more by concrete, graphic illustration than by a high-flown, theological explanation about the spiritual life. What you need is illustrative material: anecdotes, stories, colorful ways of putting things.

"Now is the time to begin collecting these, now during your studies—from your spiritual reading, from talks that you hear, from your own private reading. You will not have time later on. It is too late to start when you get to tertianship."

Then came the remarkable statement.

"When my class got to tertianship it was amazing the number who had not collected a thing. They were forlorn. All they could do was look around and ask those of us who had illustrative material for anything that we were throwing away."

It seemed remarkable that such a condition of affairs could be true—and somewhat sad. To think that with our Jesuit training, with fifteen long years of preparation for a life dedicated to an active apostolate, Jesuits could come to the work of giving sermons, conferences and retreats and find themselves without material to put across their message, to make it concrete and moving, really vital, to demonstrate their points with examples, to hold their audience's attention with stories.

How many in that class took the advice to begin a note system is hard to tell. Some did; others, one suspects, did not. Tertianship will tell. But again, it seems remarkable that anyone *would not;* that, despite repeated suggestions to gather illustrative material by juniorate deans, by speech teachers, and others, scholastics go through the course and come to tertianship, in a sense, empty handed. They have read hundreds of books, good books. They go through spiritual books, through biographies and histories, through some of the world's great literature. In these books, as in a mine, are buried countless nuggets of good stories, "quotable quotes," excellent illustrative material to put across the spiritual lesson, the dogma, the principle that people need. But in the end they come to tertianship without them. They read and forgot. They have no idea where to find what they need.

The parents of one of Ours cornered a noted Jesuit preacher at a Jesuit family club once and asked how he was able to give such good talks. With typical modesty, he gave credit to the Society. "It's the training you get in the Society. When you go through fifteen years of study and reading and classes, you pick up all these things; when you get out and start to work, they just come out."

With all respect to that Jesuit, that was not really so. He gave a community exhortation later. The manila folder he carried up the aisle to the table in the sanctuary was bulging with notes. He gave that exhortation (an excellent one) with

clippings he had from newspapers, with pages he had torn out of magazines, with notes he had taken from spiritual reading, with memoranda of talks he had had with this person or that. It was an excellent exhortation, but it was not the fruit, solely, of having gone through the course. It was excellent because he had gotten it up on his own, because he had been on the lookout for things as he went through the course, because he had clipped them and saved them and made note of them. Just being a Jesuit was not responsible for his success as a speaker. He was a success because, as he went through the course, he saw he was going to need illustrative material and collected it. Others went through the course and collected nothing; their sermons showed it. It was a matter of individual initiative.

Some Good Advice

One evening years ago a faculty member of West Baden College took some Scholastics to his room and showed them his note system. He revealed that he never read a book without taking notes on it. Every book he read, every magazine, was potential material for his retreat (and he gives a good retreat). At the time he was going through Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln*. He was reading it for pleasure; it was not his field. But he had gotten an amazing amount of material out of it for sermons and conferences. His practice was, when he found something good, to scribble it roughly on scrap paper and toss it into one of many folders he had, each labeled for a spiritual topic, e.g., *Charity*, *Poverty*, etc. Then, when he had collected many little scraps of paper, he would later take time out, sit down and type them out consecutively on an 8 x 11 piece of paper, and index them in his files.

He gave his visitors some advice that night.

"Look," he said. "You know that as a Jesuit you are going to be giving retreats later. A week's retreat has thirty-two talks: twenty-four meditations and eight conferences. The meditations are pretty well set. In the First Week, for example, you'll have to give about six set talks: Introduction, Principle and Foundation, Sin, Hell, Death, and Mercy. In the Second Week: Kingdom, Incarnation, Nativity, Two Standards, Three Classes, Three Modes, and whatever else

you have time for, e.g., Hidden Life, Call of the Apostles, etc. In the Third Week: Last Supper, Agony in the Garden, Crucifixion. In the Fourth Week: Resurrection, Appearances, and the Contemplatio ad Amorem. The Conference talks you can choose yourself, but they are usually something on Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, Prayer, Charity, Humility, Self-denial, etc.

"Why not get yourselves thirty-two manila folders, label them, and start to collect illustrative material for these talks. If you start now, you will be surprised how much you will have by the time you come to write your own retreat in tertianship. You can use this same material for sermons and conferences. Just having the folders will be an incentive to gather material; you will be more aware of the need and pick up things you would ordinarily overlook. Try it."

The scholastics were not completely faithful to his advice. Some got the manila folders, labeled them, and began to drop in items they ran across. Others found it a chore typing them up again on an 8 x 11, and indexing them (some of the material could serve for several folders) ; they found it easier to use 4 x 6 cards, make carbons where need be, and drop them into a file box, with thirty-two dividers for the thirty-two talks. Their friend on the faculty approved the change. "To each his own" was his motto as far as the mechanics of note-taking was concerned. The important thing was to take notes.

The results were pretty much as he had said they would be. Their card files filled up fast, once they were on the look-out for things. Each book read for spiritual reading, each book read in the pulpit, each talk at the annual retreat added to the collection of notes, which outgrew file boxes and moved into file drawers. Today, five years after beginning, the average collection stacks about a foot high.

Examples

A strange thing happened once the system began. As might be expected, they were more sensitive to illustrative material. They were reading spiritual reading, not just for inspiration, but to gather material for their retreat, and things seemed to leap out at them from the text that they would have missed

before. But, more unexpectedly, they began to find illustrative material in other reading, in secular reading, in reading in no way connected with religion. Here are some examples:

"On the Vanity of Worldly Success" (from *Time* magazine, December 9, 1940, p. 79). The death of Jesse Livermore, called the "biggest bear on Wall Street," "the most fabulous living U.S. stock trader," who made profits of one, five, and ten millions at a time. Nature of death: suicide. Death note: "I am a failure."

"On the Fickleness of Public Favor" (from *Life* magazine, quoted in Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, I, 336).

These heroes—erst extolling—
A fickle public drops;
Folks chase a ball that's rolling,
And kick it when it stops.

"'On the Shortness of Life" (from a *New York Times* book review). "What is life?" asked Crowfoot, leader of the Blackfoot Confederacy. "It is a flash of a firefly in the night. It is a breath of a buffalo in the winter time. It is as the little shadow that runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset."

"On the Death of a Loved One" (from Jim Bishop's newspaper column). A week ago last Sunday a woman stopped at my house. Her husband had died six weeks before. For her, the world was at an end. They were religious people and she could not understand why he was taken away so quickly.

"If you have faith," another woman said softly, "what does it matter that he preceded you by a month, a year, or a decade? Visit an old cemetery. You will find that a man died in 1809 and his wife died in 1829. Looking back, does the twenty-year difference really matter?"

Another strange thing that happened once the note system was begun was the sort of cross-fertilization that occurred between spiritual and secular reading, between illustrative material for the retreat and illustrative material for the Scholastics' respective fields, especially history and English. They had already found spiritual material in history books, weekly magazines, and daily newspapers. Now, conversely, they began to find illustrative material for their future teaching in the books they were reading for spiritual reading.

One Scholastic, for example, found the following for history:

Theodore Maynard in his *Story of American Catholicism* relates how Pizarro died, assassinated, making the sign of the cross in his own blood; and how the Puritans almost starved in the midst of

plenty, refusing to hunt and fish because they considered it ungodly—it partook of the nature of a sport. Agnes Repplier in her *Marquette* says that the Hurons feared the Iroquois so much that they asked Père Le Jeune if the Iroquois would be permitted to enter into the Christian heaven; when he answered in the affirmative, they refused to be baptized. She also tells how Père de Brebeuf ranked mosquitoes, along with hunger, fatigue, and the smell of savages, as one of the four worst things to endure; hardened woodsmen were made sick by their bites. Thomas McDermott in his *Certainly I'm a Catholic* reports how Cotton Mather forbade his wife to inform him that she was pregnant, on the ground that such conversation was indecent. Bishop Wright, writing in Louis Putz's *The Catholic Church, U.S.A.*, mentions that as late as 1856 the observance of Christmas was proscribed in Boston as a Catholic aberration; that even as late as 1870 any pupil who stayed home from school on Christmas day was punished or even expelled. Maisie Ward in her *Return to Chesterton* quotes G.K.C. as saying that the English should have a Thanksgiving Day too—to celebrate the departure from England of those dour Puritans, the Pilgrim Fathers! C. S. Lewis in one of his Screwtape articles has an excellent treatment of democracy and the danger of its ending in mediocrity.

The only difficulty the scholastics found in collecting illustrative material for future work as priests was the time it took to type the notes. But this they judged worth the time and negligible compared to the great good that resulted—having something concrete to give the people. A method used for note-taking was to read always with pencil in hand, jotting down briefly on a single slip of paper what seemed good in a book or article. This was done very quickly, listing only a page number and next to it the code T, UM, M, LM, or B, depending on whether the item was at the top, upper middle, middle, lower middle, or bottom of the page, e.g., 13 T, 25 UM, 31 B, 50 LM. At the end of the book (or in the middle if it were long), the book was placed next to the typewriter and the page jottings were checked again. What looked good originally often did not then and was passed over. What still looked good as illustrative material was typed on a 4 x 6 card, either the whole anecdote, quotation, or a reference to where it could be found. Each note had a separate card. When a stack of cards were accumulated, they were put in a card file (box or drawer) under the proper division.

Jaime Castiello in his *Humane Psychology of Education*

remarks: "It is not catalogues of virtues which are going to inspire boys, but the living manifestations of real virtue in the real lives of men." In other words, it is not getting up in the pulpit and telling people that they should be chaste and charitable and courageous that is going to influence them, but showing them case histories of people who were such, who lived Christianity, who implemented the Gospels in their lives. This is concrete, graphic, illustrative. A picture is worth a thousand words. This is what our men should be gathering now during their course of studies. God grant that they may not be found deficient, that they may have abundant material when they reach tertianship.

The Structural Approach in Latin

Frederick E. Brenk, S.J.

Until this year (1960) I always looked upon myself as a moderate traditionalist in teaching Latin and Greek, which meant that I was regarded by those about me as an arch-traditionalist. In fact, when a poll was sent around earlier in the year, asking for opinions on the syllabus we were using for the orations of Cicero, I commented that I was dead set against any new methods. Perhaps you may wonder then how in the short space of two months, I became a very ardent supporter of the structural approach to Latin as it is being developed by Dr. Waldo Sweet at the University of Michigan. Strange to say, I wonder whether those very things which made me a traditionalist did not make me appreciate the structuralists.

This spring when asked to go to the University of Michigan to study the approach, I was somewhat reluctant to go, but I felt it was necessary because in the arguments I engaged in previously over the subject, I was always met with the contention, "But you do not know anything about the structural method." This was somewhat true, I had to admit. Would it not be very clever to silence the opposition by knowing their

case better than they? When I arrived at Ann Arbor, I discovered Father John J. O'Neill of the California Province of the Society of Jesus, who was teaching at the juniorate at Los Gatos where some of the courses were already being taught along structural lines, and he wanted to learn the method better so that he could continue, if advantageous, the same type of teaching which the juniors were getting in previous courses. As a joke, he once remarked that they had better not change the way he was teaching because it was really the only thing he knew. After Dr. Sweet's class we would walk across the street to the student union, often with another Californian, Thomas Franxman, a scholastic teaching at St. Ignatius in San Francisco, who was studying Arabic. Here we would haggle over the latest theories taught in class.

I also spent a good deal of time questioning other language students at the University about their courses and the attitudes of their teachers toward the newer methods. I found out that the French department was strongly traditional at least in the theory of the head of the department, but in practice great stress was laid on oral work, and many of the ideas of the structuralist were practiced. There was a lively group of undergraduates, many from the East, who had a grant to study Russian at the University for the summer and then travel in Russia for a month before school started in the fall. The textbook they used in class was very traditional, but the tapes they used in the language laboratory were more along structural lines. For the past five years some of the best teachers of Arabic in the country have been coming to Michigan for the summer, and consequently there were about fifty Arabic students studying modern Arabic. Their courses were taught along strictly structural lines, though this does not mean that they were taught exactly the same way as the Latin students were taught, and the students spent about three hours a day in the language laboratory. They complained about having to memorize too many basic sentences, and seemed to be somewhat dissatisfied with the course. There were also many students, mainly from South America, studying basic English, comprising the largest group of basic language students, and studying along strict structural lines. Their afternoons were spent in the language laboratory pain-

fully struggling to pronounce simple English words like water and earth while a teacher went around occasionally to help them.

Before I went to Ann Arbor, all the experience of my teaching of Latin and Greek over three years had confirmed me in the advantages of the traditional method, and I even became strongly convinced of the importance of translation from English to Latin or Greek, something I was against in the beginning. I did not, and still do not believe that the traditional method means using the text as a springboard to dive into the sea of grammar, but rather felt that carefully chosen questions on grammar would help the student understand the passage and develop a scholarly outlook toward the language.

Cicero As Poetry

There was one thing I did which was a little out of the ordinary. Some of the boys read aloud about twenty lines of the text each class. My object was to have them visualize the raft of Odysseus tossed upon the waves of the Mediterranean, or look in horror upon Gaius Gracchus limping across the bridge to escape his aristocratic murderers. Before they read the passage I would describe the scene vividly in English and then they would read the text out loud. For most of the students this was probably completely unsuccessful, but will they ever appreciate the classics until it is no longer batches of strange words they see as they read, but an actual world of waves and storms, or the dark columns of the Capitol? As I read the *De Oratore* of Cicero, beginning more and more to appreciate this great writer, who is little more than a thorn in the side of our high school students, I became convinced that you cannot read him the way he spoke, and thereby do him justice unless you become aware of the long and short quantity of Latin vowels. Therefore, I read Cicero as I read Latin poetry. The corrections that I made later on, due to Dr. Sweet's influence work out perfectly, over the cumbersome system which I was using at that time. This simple correction is to speak Latin as closely as possible to the way the Romans spoke it.

Thus in certain aspects I was already disposed to the structural approach, and in aspects which differed from those of

most of the other people I found in Dr. Sweet's classroom, people of all different backgrounds, of all kinds of dispositions, and from many parts of the country. The class was composed of six or so Sisters, about twelve priests, and a number of high school teachers, four or five undergraduates, a linguist, and often the few remaining seats were taken by visitors. Practically all of these people left the class with an enthusiasm for putting into effect at least some of the techniques taught, with the paradox that the older they were the more enthusiastic some of them seemed to be.

Now what philtre (like that which killed the somber Lucretius) causes this change in otherwise normally intelligent people, and results in their giving up methods which they have used for years? First of all, Dr. Sweet is a serious Latin scholar. Though he is no relative of Henry Sweet, the English linguist, who fascinated George Bernard Shaw and about whom Shaw wrote a play, *Pygmalion,* they do have this in common, that one introduced the oral approach into the study of the English language, and the other is trying to do the same for Latin. The *Latin: A Structural Approach* of Dr. Sweet is built upon the conclusions of outstanding linguists.

Many Jesuits confuse the Most and the Sweet method even though they are poles apart. Just how does Dr. Sweet feel about Father Most's method His criticism of Father Most is: you cannot know a language until you know its structure. But basically the Most method is not scientific enough to receive much consideration at Michigan. Another criticism of the Most book is the "easy Latin" given in the beginning of the book. This, Dr. Sweet feels, distorts the true colors of the Latin language. Latin is difficult, he says, and quite different from English. So why cripple the boy with bad habits leading to eventual helplessness and disillusionment? One cannot help but arrive at the conclusion, after being at Michigan, that Father Most's way is unable to win the approval of modern scientific linguistic thought.

There were two little incidents which helped to turn me toward the new system. In the afternoon, the members of the theory class which Father O'Neill and I were in, would tutor the students in the class taking the *Latin: A Structural Approach.* Mr. Dickerman, one of Dr. Sweet's assistants

taught this group in the morning, and generally in the afternoon they would work on tapes and the teaching machines. Most of them were students who needed the Latin requirement for their doctorate degrees, and they showed a very cheerful and cooperative attitude toward the course, and many of them who had studied modern languages by the traditional method were quite pleased by the new approach.

A Satisfied Student

One day a Mr. Zietlow who was regarded as the best student in the class, a graduate English student in his early twenties, fell to my lot. At this period in the course, Dr. Sweet wanted us to work on the readings in the back of his book and I had been doing this according to the ways he demonstrated in our class. But I thought that this would be a good time to test the new method by teaching and questioning the boy in the traditional method to see what he really knew. Meanwhile, I kept an eye out lest we be overheard translating sentences. The reading I was working on was the poem by Phaedrus *Ad rīvum eundem lupus et agnus vēnerant,* something I had tried to teach two years before to my first year students at the D class at the end of the year, and had given up on as impossible. The student surprised me by doing well, but he was, of course, a very bright boy. Dr. Sweet and his assistant did come by, but I swiftly shifted gears into the structural method, and was only corrected for my pronunciation of *poētae.* My "tutee" showed no objection to the way I was teaching. Therefore I asked him at the end which way he liked best, the old structural way, or the new traditional way I had just been using to teach him. He thought for a while, then said that he thought he learned more when I asked the questions in Latin.

The second incident that impressed me was the following. Dr. Sweet had a grant to experiment with some teaching machines. This particular type was very simple, a small box with a paper containing questions and answers, and a crank to turn the paper through. One day he went through one of these "programs" designed to teach the poem *Eutrapelus tōnsor* by Martial. It was meant originally as an experiment with the beginning class which had been split up into two

parts, one of which was to study for a test on the poem using a dictionary and the traditional notes given, and the other was to use the teaching machine. At the end of the test who had done best? Naturally, those who had used the teaching machine. One might object that those who used the machines took two to three times as long, and the test was designed along the questions asked in the machine.

Dr. Sweet worked the experiment on us by writing the lines on the board and then reading off the questions from the program. Later comparing notes with Father O'Neill, I found that he was stuck on the meaning of *dum expinguit genās* while I did not have the slightest meaning for *altera barba subit.* But could not the difficulties have been removed in one minute by the old method? Dr. Sweet realizes this, but he feels that one is learning a lot of Latin by the questions. And after all, to understand how the student learns a language, must we not keep in mind that the things which seem perfectly obvious to us, may have taken us years to master?

So far I have been talking about *Latin: A Structural Approach,* and the teaching of beginning Latin. Dr. Sweet has also turned out a text for the first two book of Vergil, which contains the lines of Vergil on one side, and a paraphrase and commentary in Latin on the other. An undergraduate from the East, who had taken this course last year told me how Dr. Sweet taught this. In the first semester they covered only one book of Vergil, leaving the next eleven books for the following semester. To teach the new matter he would paraphrase and ask questions in Latin. Then at the beginning of the next class the students would keep their books closed while he would ask them questions or have them fill in lines as he read them to them. The tests for the most part consisted of "clozes;" that is, filling in of particular words or phrases omitted in whole or part. This same type of test was used in teaching Lucretius by Gerta Seligson, an ardent follower of Dr. Sweet's techniques, and caused some bitterness among some of the priests taking the course, and was aggravated by the fact that at least at the time I talked to these priests, she only took about twenty lines of Latin a day in class, and did not treat the background as well as they wished.

Pronunciation

Some of us are bothered by the pronunciation advocated by Dr. Sweet, usually called the Roman pronunciation. Dr. Sweet himself trills the "r" as an added frill. The first day of class Dr. Sweet looked at the nuns in the front row and told them he was going to speak Latin the way the first pope did. Whether this had anything to do with it or not, I do not know, but the nuns became very adept at this pronunciation, perhaps out of devotion to St. Peter. The matter written on Latin pronunciation is surprisingly little, and hard to get at, and you cannot find a dictionary, including the new Cassell's which marks the vowel quantities the way it is necessary for Dr. Sweet's system. However, a little book, *Latin Pronunciation and the Latin Alphabet* by Leonard Tafel based on the work by a German scholar named W. Corssen, *Ueber Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache* came out just exactly 100 years ago in Philadelphia, in which he bemoaned the pronunciation of the men at that time, and asked for a pronunciation more in accordance with that of the ancient Romans. Today most of the scholars in this country use this pronunciation. At the present time I am experimenting with a pronunciation closer to that of the Romans than the one being used by Dr. Sweet. In his manual for teachers, which will be published soon, he says that he would not want to use the exact Latin phonemes because the pronunciation would have to be changed for each period of literature.

Dr. Sweet feels that the biggest problem right now is testing. For high school students, I think that a more serious difficulty is that of giving some sort of homework. Dr. Sweet is aware of the need for workbooks and feels that they should be written, but to use the system as it should be employed, the homework should be done in the language laboratory. Unfortunately, some Jesuit schools, which would shudder at a model T Ford for a house car, have no plans for using language equipment or for setting up a laboratory. One of Dr. Sweet's contentions is that a science teacher can walk into a principal's office and come out with two or three hundred dollars worth of equipment whereas a classics teacher trembles to ask for five dollars. We must prove to the principals that we will actually use this equipment and they will prob-

ably be glad to give it. We often scorn the public school system as an educational wasteland, but in New York City alone this summer, thirty-four language laboratories of the very best quality were installed in the public high schools.

Are the books for teaching Latin and Greek in our high schools out of date by structural standards? With suitable workbooks, the more advanced books might be retained, since it is the text of the classical author which is most important. However, those who are teaching the beginning courses and wish to use the structural techniques are aware that it may be like going to bed each night on a Procrustean bed to find out that your legs have either been hammered out or sawn off when you wake up in the morning. Dr. Sweet's own series goes from Vergil to Ovid where ours goes from Caesar through Cicero to Vergil. He said that when he began his first book he knew he had to take one of two diverging ways. After giving it some thought he chose Vergil. Thus his system is similar to the Schoder system for Greek which chooses Homer first.

It may be of interest to some that Dr. Sweet is pushing advanced placement work in Latin, and many Jesuit students should be able to obtain college credit along this line. A special seminar and institute on advanced placement in Latin was held at the University this summer, and one of the surprising discoveries of the people experimenting with this field was that interest paid off more than high I.Q.'s as far as performance went and often students who otherwise looked very unpromising did remarkably well. Information on the programs may be obtained at the University of Michigan or through the *Advanced Placement Program Course Description* (1960) published by the College Entrance Examination Board, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey.

The method used by Dr. Sweet is not a haphazard affair like the direct method schemes, and in some form or other structural linguistics will influence all future Latin textbooks as well as those of the other languages. Think of the possibilities for Greek, where nothing at all has been done. People often ask what is meant by the structural approach and are surprised when their informant begins to talk about phonemes. Their next question is "But what is a phoneme?" and

when the informant refuses to define it for them and tells them it takes a little time to get it across, they become somewhat peeved. The structural approach is something like the phoneme when you try and describe it. It is a broad complex of ideas covering the work and attitudes of linguists since the 1850's, and cannot be grasped by reading hurriedly one or two books, much less one or two introductions to Dr. Sweet's books. It is a kind of philosophy of language, and for this reason Dr. Sweet insists on calling it an approach rather than a method. The method is something to be worked out by each individual teacher. And as for its appeal to teachers who have formerly taught by traditional techniques, why should they not respect the appreciation of the classical authors which it breeds, the sound scholarship and reputation of the men advocating it, its humanistic outlook toward language and culture? That already a number of teachers, sincerely devoted to teaching the classics have adopted it, is greatly to its credit, and gives it great hopes of success in the troubled waters and storm clouds through which the Latin and Greek classics, like Odysseus long ago, are traveling in hopes of reaching an intellectual Ithaca.

Ignatian Prayer
"Seek God in All Things"

Joseph Stierli, S.J.

The founding of the Society of Jesus appeared to the sixteenth century as a revolutionary break with the one thousand year tradition of western monasticism. In spite of changing forms in all monastic orders from Benedict to Dominic, contemplation had been the center of monastic life. The order of St. Dominic is considered by its own members a contemplative order in spite of an apostolic orientation. The expression and guarantee of this contemplation was the enclosure

From *Ignatius von Loyola: Seine geistliche Gestalt und sein Vermächtnis* (Würzburg, 1956). Translated by Father Morton Hill, S.J.

of the monastery and also choir, which was the center of the monastic day. In the Benedictine formula, "Work and Prayer," the accent is on "Prayer." Monastic occupations like farming, handicraft and study are only significant interruptions of liturgical prayer. Even in the Dominican formula, "Give the fruit of prayer to others," apostolic work is considered the organic expression of contemplation.

Ignatius made the first daring break with these formulas. This innovation of Ignatius accounts for the difficulties and resistance he had to overcome before receiving the approbation of the Church. This innovation accounts too for the repeated attempts of the popes who came from the old orders as they tried to fit the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus into the tradition of monasticism, especially by the introduction of choir.

The innovation of St. Ignatius was not so much to be found in the carefully thought-out apostolic nature of his order. The Praemonstratensians and the mendicant orders of the late middle ages were his predecessors in apostolic activity and pioneers. It was in the universality of his apostolate and in his apostolic method that Ignatius surpassed the earlier orders. It was the radically different adaptation of the entire order to the labor of the apostolic ministry that appeared as a revolution to the representatives of a firmly established monastic tradition. Yet it was only by this adaptation that Ignatius created an apostolic order in all its purity.

In the realization of his ideas, Ignatius abandoned many of the exercises of the monastic life that had been considered essential up to that time. First among these was choir. On the other hand, he created new ways of community life. In place of choir as the essential expression of contemplation, he presented a new religious ideal, "Seek God in all things." This he made the central principle of religious life. With this highly dynamic formula, Ignatius not only gave his own order a unique piety, he also gave the layman an anxiously awaited method of unifying his faith and his everyday living. If by his *Constitutions* Ignatius paved the way for many modern religious communities, he also developed a religious ideal by the formula of seeking God in all things. This ideal is incorporated into the Spiritual Exercises and thus is effective

outside the Society of Jesus. Therefore, an examination of this basic principle is a matter not merely of historical and ascetical interest to the Jesuit, but may also become fruitful for apostolic religious and for the layman.

We will treat our theme in four steps. First, the origin and contents of the formula, "Seek God in all things" must come from the life of St. Ignatius himself, because this formula grows from the depths of his own God-given mystical prayer. Secondly, it is worth noting that Ignatius makes this ideal an essential principle in the ascetical and religious training of his followers, and in it he finds the specific holiness of a Jesuit. Thirdly, because of the central position he gives to the seek-God-in-all-things formula, it will be necessary to ascertain its true meaning. Fourthly and finally, we will ask by what means this formula can be practiced and acquired in the spirit of St. Ignatius.

I

The Example of The Master

At the end of the "Pilgrim Report," the original form of the Ignatian autobiography, written in the years 1553-55, under repeated pressure of his disciples, and dictated by Ignatius to Father da Camara, St. Ignatius admitted that "since he began to serve God, he advanced constantly in holiness, i.e., in facility to find God, even to the end of his life." [1] This is a remarkable statement because Ignatius here equates holiness with the formula of "Finding God in All Things" and so characterizes his own spirituality. What he intends to say can be only understood in connection with his deep mystical prayer, whose nature we are trying to trace from the writing of the Saint himself and from the testimony of contemporaries. Especially valuable are *The Spiritual Journal* of the years 1544-45, his *Autobiography* and the Spiritual Exercises. The mystical prayer of St. Ignatius is essentially trinitarian. Since the triune God has revealed himself in Christ crucified, his prayer is also Christ-centered and cross-centered. His prayer is church-centered too, since we meet Christ in the Church, and centered on the Holy Eucharist and

[1] *Mon. Ign.* IV, I, 353-507.

the priesthood, especially after his ordination in Venice in 1537.

In his *Autobiography,* in describing the third Manresan period, the great mystic invasion of God into his life, Ignatius gives a systematic summary of the graces of this time that influenced his entire spiritual life. "First, he practiced great devotion to the Holy Trinity, addressing himself daily to each Person of the Trinity." [2] On the steps of the Dominican church, he received a vision of the Holy Trinity that was both a grace and a mission. "This impression was so tremendous that it remained with him all his life and he always felt great consolation when praying to the Holy Trinity." [3] Father Laynez, to whom the master confided much of his interior life, has more to tell of those hours of grace. "During the year he spent at Manresa, he had so much light from our Lord that his mind was deeply consoled. Almost all the mysteries of the Faith were shown to him. It was especially the mystery of the Holy Trinity which refreshed his mind so that he thought of writing a book about the Holy Trinity, even though he was a very simple man who knew only how to read and write." [4]

Father Jerome Nadal, Ignatius' right hand in the preparation of the Constitutions and the inner make-up of the Order, testifies from his own experience and from the confidences entrusted to him by Ignatius, that "Ignatius is uniquely united to God. Father Ignatius told me personally that he is in constant relation with the Divine Persons and that he receives graces proper to each Person from the individual Persons." [5] On another occasion he writes, "I do not wish to forget that our Father Ignatius had received the unique grace to pray freely and to rest in the Holy Trinity. He had these visions also earlier in life, but I am inclined to say he experienced them most frequently in the last years of his stay on earth." [6] The last years spent at Rome were a time of deep mystical union with God, a constant union with the Trinity. Nadal testifies: "Ignatius is united to God in a special way. His soul has experienced every type of vision, not merely visions

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[2] *Autobiography,* n. 28.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Fontes Narrativi* I, 82.

[5] *MH Nadal* IV, 645.

[6] *Ibid.* 651.

of a sensible nature as, for instance, the vision of Christ or of the Blessed Virgin, but also visions that were directed to his purely intellectual powers. He constantly lived the life of the spirit in a high state of union with God."[7] Ribadeneira (author of the first Ignatian biography) testifies to the maturity of Ignatius' mystical life of prayer in the years of his greatest labor and torturing illness: "Ignatius felt that he was always advancing and that the fire in his soul ever burned with a warmer glow. Hence, Ignatius did not hesitate, when in his last years at Rome, to call the time spent at Manresa his 'kindergarten' days, although earlier during his studies, by reason of the wonderful graces received then, he had called it his 'primitive church'.[8]

But we will have a few passages from his own diary as our principal witnesses.

February 16, 1544:

I wanted to get ready for Mass, but doubted to whom and how to commend myself first. In this doubt, I knelt down, and wondering how I should begin, I thought that the Father would reveal Himself more to me and draw me to His mercies, feeling that He was more favorable and readier to grant what I desired (not being able to apply myself to my mediators). This feeling kept growing, with a flood of tears on my cheeks, and the greatest confidence in the Father, as though He were recalling me from my former exile. Later, while on my way to Mass, preparing the altar and vesting, and beginning Mass, everywhere with intense tears which drew me to the Father, Who set in order the interests of the Son, while I experienced many remarkable intellectual lights, which were delightful and very spiritual.[9]

February 19, 1544:

On awakening in the morning and beginning my examination of conscience and prayer, with a great and abundant flood of tears, I felt much devotion with many intellectual lights and spiritual remembrances of the Most Holy Trinity, which quieted me and delighted me immensely, even to producing a pressure in my chest, because of the intense love I felt for the Most Holy Trinity[10] . . . On the way to Mass and just before it, I was not without tears; an abundance of them during it, but very peacefully, with very many lights and spiritual memories concerning the Most Holy

[7] *Ibid.* 645.
[8] *Mon Ign.* IV, I, 353.
[9] W. J. Young, *The Spiritual Journal of St. Ignatius Loyola*, p. 8.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Trinity which served as a great illumination to my mind, so much so that I thought I could never learn so much by hard study, and later, as I examined the matter more closely, I felt and understood, I thought, more than if I had studied all my life.[11]

February 21, 1544:

In this Mass I recognized, felt or saw, the Lord knows, that in speaking to the Father, in seeing that He was a Person of the Most Holy Trinity, I was moved to love the Trinity all the more that the other Persons were present in It essentially. I felt the same in the prayer to the Son, and the same in the prayer to the Holy Spirit, rejoicing in any One of Them and feeling consolations, attributing it to and rejoicing in the Being of all Three.[12]

February 27, 1544:

I felt or rather saw beyond my natural strength the Most Holy Trinity and Jesus, presenting me, or placing me, or simply being the means of union in the midst of the Most Holy Trinity in order that this intellectual vision be communicated to me. With this knowledge and sight, I was deluged with tears and love, directing to Jesus and to Most Holy Trinity a respectful worship which was more on the side of a reverential love than anything else. Later, I thought of Jesus doing the same duty in thinking of praying to the Father, thinking and feeling interiorly that He was doing everything with the Father and the Most Holy Trinity.[13]

March 4, 1544:

I entered the chapel with fresh devotion and tears, always ending in the Most Holy Trinity; and also at the altar, after having vested, I was overcome with a much greater flood of tears, sobs and most intense love for the Most Holy Trinity.[14]

Trinitarian mystical prayer has many forms. It is again Nadal who points out to us the characteristics of Ignatius' prayer that centered on the Trinity. "Our Father had the privilege of possessing a prayer that centered on the Trinity to an exceptional degree. With it came the grace to perceive the presence of God in all his words and actions, and a delicate sense of the supernatural. He lived in God's presence, becoming contemplative in action. He used to say 'We must find God in all things.' "[15] An exact analysis of text and context shows that Nadal does not intend to speak of two different graces, but of one unique vital grace of the master that is at

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[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 14 f.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[15] *MH Nadal* IV, 651.

the same time directed fruitfully toward the Trinity and the created universe. The inner hidden connection in the case of Ignatius between Trinitarian mystical prayer and the formula of "finding God in all things" is based on his unique mystical picture of God. The triune God Whom he met in grace and prayer, and consequently in all his work, is the creator of the world and the lord of history. We should never forget that the creator and lord, in the mind of Ignatius, are not philosophic ideas but extremely rich theological facts. For Ignatius, God is always the triune cause and origin of all natural and supernatural effects. For him history is the fullness of all communicated divine love. Therefore, history is above all grace and salvation. Logically, the Ignatian picture of Christ bears the same traits that are seen in the picture of God. For the intoxicated mystic of Manresa and for the wise organizer of the Society of Jesus, Christ is above all the king, not the king of glory of the Benedictine liturgy, but the ambassador of the Father, come to conquer a Kingdom for Him. He is head of the church militant, which is here and now continuing the work of salvation, the battle of the cross against Satan.

We must explain the series of the systematic reflections of Ignatius concerning the Manresa graces, not merely as an historical sequence, but as organically interlocked and connected graces that were constantly evolving. In his *Autobiography*, we are told of a second Trinitarian mystical grace. "Another time he was shown the manner in which God created the world. In this he experienced great spiritual joy. It seemed that he saw something white, producing certain rays out of which God created light." [16] Then the progression goes on, from creation-centered prayer to Christ-centered prayer (already a Eucharistic note!), then church-centered prayer, as Nadal expressly states. That we may not consider these mystical graces his own self-willed invention, but gifts, ~~that~~ "fifth" in his review, that final and complete grace of Manresa shows: "One day, to satisfy his thirst for devotion, he went to a church, one mile from Manresa. I believe it is St. Paul's Church. He walked along the river that leads to the church, deep in his pious thoughts. After a while, he sat

[16] *Autobiography*, n. 29.

down. He turned his face toward the river, which flowed along in its depths. The eyes of his mind began to open. He did not have a vision, but he grasped and understood many questions concerning the spiritual life, and the relationship between faith and reason, and this was with such clarity, that all seemed to be new.

"It is impossible to indicate everything he understood at this time, however much it was. But it is certain that his soul was filled with such brightness that he thought if he could unite all the graces he had received in his life up to the age of sixty-two and all the knowledge he possessed, he did not receive as much as on this one occasion.

"As a result of these experiences, his mind was so illuminated that he thought he was a different man and had another mind. As this illumination lasted quite a while, he went to a cross that stood nearby, and knelt down to give thanks to God." [17] This great illumination that gave him "the new understanding," also presented him with an insight into the architectonic fabric of all reality in the world and of every mystery of faith. In the great clearness of his spirit, he could examine and evaluate all things proceeding from the Triune God and coming to himself. Thus at Manresa was established that formula of "Finding God in All Things," during an hour of grace of inconceivable fruitfulness.

That which first appears at this time like a rare ray of divine grace became increasingly the perpetual state of his spiritual life during his time at Rome. His soul was indeed endowed with this "new understanding" the clarity of which never left him. The very intimate pages of his *Spiritual Journal,* that were never meant to be for any foreign eyes, proved nearly day by day that Ignatius lived at that time in an habitual mystical union with the Trinity. Furthermore, the concept "Find God in All Things" during this time had a predominantly mystical character, and for this very reason proved fruitful in all his actions, as Father Nadal again testifies. For in immediate connection with the just mentioned testimony of the "Contemplative in Action" he continues: "But we saw with deep amazement and sweet consolation

[17] *Ibid.,* n. 30.

how this grace, which was a light in his soul, manifested itself in the wisdom and sureness of all his actions. It was as if a light shone over his countenance. Indeed we sensed how this grace was communicated to us in a mysterious way." [18] Another testimony sums it up more briefly: "Nearly always he was directed to God, even if at times he seemed to do something else." [19]

At Manresa, Ignatius was ever more intoxicated with the light of God and consequently could see everything else only in this light. The triune God had become a powerful magnet in his life. Under the force of this central experience, all truths are now seen in relation to divine truth and all activities are directed towards this divine origin of truth. Trinitarian holiness and "Finding God in All Things" are melted together into one formula by Ignatius. Finding God in all things is the special characteristic of his Trinitarian prayer. The contemplation of this trinitarian mystic becomes in action a "Seeking of God in All Things."

II

The Lesson for His Followers

After Manresa, where Ignatius began to "help some souls who had come seeking him there to advance spiritually," the mysticism of St. Ignatius was translated into an ascetical doctrine for his band of followers. We learn about Ignatian spirituality first of all in the booklet of the Spiritual Exercises, and then in the Constitutions, which are more of a spiritual manual than a code of laws. We also learn about Ignatian spirituality in his rich correspondence, where practical decisions and questions of organization are harmoniously united with fatherly advice, and finally, in the personal method of instruction employed by the Saint which we learn from the manifold testimony of his pupils and associates.[20] Moreover, the first generation of Jesuits was convinced that the tremendous graces of their father were not only his personal privilege, but also a promise to his sons. Father Nadal testi-

[18] *MH Nadal* IV, 651.
[19] *Mon. Ign.* IV, I, 523 [n. 37].
[20] J. de Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 59-95.

fies to this among other things concerning the vision of La Storta. In this vision Ignatius was placed by the heavenly Father next to Christ bearing His Cross. This marked the fulfillment of the triple colloquy of the Two Standards. To find God in all things is a grace promised to the sons of Ignatius. Nadal says: "What we have recognized here as a privilege for our father Ignatius, we likewise believe is given to the Society, and we are confident, that this grace of prayer and contemplation is available to everyone in the Society, indeed it forms the essence of our vocation." [21] As Manresa was for Ignatius the "primitive church" of his mysticism, so for his successors the concept, "Finding God in All Things," is established in the "Manresa of the exercises." These culminate in the "Contemplation for Obtaining Divine Love." In retrospect, this Contemplation summarizes the entire Exercises in one glance. It shows the "Foundation and Principle" in the light of four weeks of the Exercises. Looking forward, it portends the radiation and translation of retreat ideals into the everyday routine of Christian life which is to be resumed. The second prelude describes the purpose of this meditation: "Ask for an interior knowledge of the great favors received, so that, in grateful recognition of them, I may love and serve His Divine Majesty." [22]

The common theme of the four points is God's picture of our life's history. Again and again we must renew for ourselves the rich contents of this concept of "Finding God in All Things" as grasped by Ignatius. "All things" must be experienced as gifts of God and as an expression of His love in the first point. The beneficent God is viewed in the second point as present in His gifts, because the presence of the giver gives the deepest possible meaning to all His gifts. In the third point which treats about the presence of an ever-active God, He is also discovered as continually working in all things. In the fourth point the mystery of divine descent into all earthly reality is brought to our attention. All things are seen in their continual issuance from God as Ignatius at Manresa had the grace to experience. All things must be returned to God by a person "who has gone out of himself," through a

[21] *MH Nadal* IV, 652.

[22] Spiritual Exercises, n. 233.

pure love that serves. This is the meaning of the answer, the fourfold *Suscipe*. Thus the retreatant should be transformed by the Spiritual Exercises into a man who seeks in all things the presence of Our Lord,[23] who finds God in all things,[24] who lives with God ever before his eyes,[25] and who is always directed towards God,[26] to use the different formulas of the Saint.

We meet the same ideal again in the Constitutions of the Order. In Part Three, Ignatius demands as the basic principle for the religious training of his followers: "All should endeavor to have a right intention not only in their state of life, but even in all its details. They should aim in everything only at the service and pleasure of the Divine Goodness for its own sake and for the love and extraordinary benefits with which it has first favored us, rather than from fear of punishment or hope of reward . . . And they should be exhorted repeatedly to seek God Our Lord in all things, while they cast off all love of creatures as much as possible, in order to direct it to their Creator, loving Him in all creatures and all creatures in Him, according to His most holy and divine will." [27]

Employing other words, but to the same effect, he gives the Scholastics (students of the Order) this golden rule: "For students to make progress, they must endeavor first to maintain a purity of soul and uprightness of intention in their studies, while they seek in learning only the honor of God and the good of souls." [28] In the spirit of Saint Ignatius, Father Nadal, during his first Spanish visitation to introduce the Constitutions, sketched this ideal for the Scholastics: "Everyone, who advances in the world of prayer and of the spiritual life, should strive in Our Lord to find God in all their exercises and employments, that they may walk exclusively in the way of the spirit, and form the habit of being recollected and devout in all things. They should profit from the fruits of contemplation and prayer in all their occupations insofar as the weakness of our nature permits." [29] This thought recurs in the rules framed by Nadal for the students

[23] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 510.
[24] *Ibid.*, 3, 502, 510, etc.
[25] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 432.
[26] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 523.
[27] *Const.* III, 1, 26.
[28] *Const.* IV, 6, 1.
[29] *Mon. Ign.* III, 4, 490, n. 14.

of the Order, called "Rules for Scholastics" which are wholly fashioned in the spirit of the Constitutions.[30]

What has its foundation in the Exercises and Constitutions should become fruitful in everyday living. To this end, an abundance of directions were issued from the chamber of Ignatius at Rome to the entire world. Most of the letters treating the theme "Seek God in All Things" are in the same context. They are either a part of that difficult struggle against extension of time for prayer with which Ignatius had to contend in the last ten years of his life—(Such tendencies were noticeable especially in Spain and Portugal)—or they contained decisions and advice for Scholastics "for whom study did not leave much time for prayer" (a repeated thought of St. Ignatius which is also treated in the Fourth Part of the Constitutions). Sometimes his letters are for very busy Fathers who groan under the burden of their occupations and carry in their hearts a longing for quiet prayer. So we read at the end of the famous letter to the students at Coimbra, dated May 7th, 1547: "If study does not allow much time for prayer, you can compensate greatly by the desire. In doing everything solely for the service of God, you make everything a prayer." [31]

Four years later, a letter from the secretary of Ignatius, Father Polanco, to the rector of the same college repeats these wise principles, in the spirit of the saint. "Regarding prayer and contemplation, if there are not special necessities in consequence of temptations, I find him (Ignatius) more inclined that one should try rather to find God in all things than to use much time continuously for prayer. The spirit he wishes to see in the Society is that as far as this is possible one should not find less devotion in each chosen work of love and obedience than in prayer and contemplation, for we do everything out of love for God and for His service. Therefore, everyone should find peace in his appointed tasks. Then he can have no doubt that he is performing the will of God our Lord." [32]

Under the same date of June 1st, 1551, Father de Brandão,

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[30] *Mon. Ign.* III, 4, 481, 486.

[31] *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 510.

[32] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

a Scholastic priest from Coimbra, received this directive along with other valuable advice concerning the spiritual life: "Concerning time for prayer, the answer is found in the purpose a Scholastic in college has to pursue. His purpose is to acquire learning with which to serve God our Lord, to His greater glory by employing his learning for the spiritual benefit of his neighbor. If study is done well, it takes the whole person. One could not give wholehearted attention to it if he wanted long periods for prayer. What they can do after the prescribed exercises is as follows: They should strive to seek the presence of God our Lord in all things—for instance, in association with others, in walking, looking, tasting, hearing, thinking, indeed in all that they do. It is certain that the majesty of God is in all things by His presence, by His activity and by His essence. This form of contemplation by which one finds God in all things is easier than trying to elevate ourselves to spiritual things by a more abstract method in which we can maintain ourselves only with much difficulty. Furthermore, this splendid exercise prepares us for great visitations of our Lord, even if one is accustomed to pray for only a short time. Moreover, the Scholastics can train themselves frequently to offer up to God our Lord their studies and their difficulties, considering that they have undertaken them out of love for God and have put aside their personal inclinations in order to serve His Divine Majesty, and to help those for whose life He Himself suffered death." [33]

To this theme about time for prayer in the midst of studies, Father da Camara in his *Memoriale* reports an interesting discussion between Ignatius and Nadal: "When on last November 22 (1554) Father Nadal told our Father that he had prescribed an hour and a half of prayer in Spain (as a compromise between the two hours the Spaniards demanded and the one hour Ignatius had appointed), our Father said that one could not dissuade him from his conviction that for the Scholastics one hour of prayer is enough where mortification and self-denial can be presumed to exist. In this way they achieve more in a quarter of an hour than another, who is not mortified, does in two hours of prayer. However, should

[33] *Ibid.*, 510.

anyone have more difficulty and greater needs, he could be permitted more time for prayer. When, on another day, our Father conversed with me concerning this matter, he said that in spiritual affairs nothing is worse than trying to guide others after your own spirituality; and he related how there was a time when he himself said long prayers. Then he told me that out of one hundred people, who concentrate on long prayer and many practices of penance, most involve themselves in great errors, especially obstinate intellectual pride, a thing our Father particularly emphasized. And so our Father built his entire foundation upon the mortification and self-denial of one's own will. When he mentioned to Father Nadal that one hour of prayer would be sufficient for Scholastics in the colleges, he emphasized with distinct pointedness that mortification and self-denial were to be presupposed . . . And thus our Father greatly praises prayer, especially that which consists in holding God before the eyes at all times." [34]

In the same manner Ignatius drew the ideal of holiness for Fathers in the active ministry. To them he gives as the sole rule for prayer and mortification—"discreet love": "Since the Society waits so long and patiently before the admission to profession as well as to the final vows of the Coadjutors and demands such perfection of life, we expect that those admitted be mature men, led by the Holy Spirit, hurrying on in the way of Christ our Lord as much as their bodily strength and the exterior works of charity and obedience permit. Therefore, there is no other rule to give them than that which prudent love itself points out for prayer, meditation and study, as also for the corporal exercises of fasting, night watches, and other austerities and works of penance. They should merely inform their confessor and, in doubtful cases, the superior." [35]

Ignatius finds it quite all right that the apostolic worker does not have much time for formal prayer. He must rather make a prayer out of every task: "He did not wish that the members of the Society seek God only in prayer, but in all their actions, and that these be a prayer. He approved this method more than long-drawn-out contemplation." [36]

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[34] *Mon. Ign.* V, 1, 278.

[35] *Const.* VI, 3, 1.

[36] *Fontes Narrativi* 2, 419.

Close to eternity, Ignatius wrote half a year before his death: "One must realize that man does not serve God only when he prays. Otherwise all prayer would be too short that does not last twenty-four hours daily (if that were possible), since everyone indeed should give himself to God as perfectly as possible. But in reality, God is served better at certain times through other means than by prayer, so that God is well pleased if for this reason we omit prayer. Thus one must pray constantly and not lose heart, but he should understand that correctly after the manner of the saints and of the doctors of the Church." [37]

And Nadal repeats this idea in one of his instructions: "It can be helpful in fostering devotion to seek God our Lord in all things, even in the smallest details, while we lay aside all love for created things, in order to direct our hearts entirely to the Creator, loving Him in all things as is His holy will." [38]

Instead of prolonged time for prayer, one's work should become prayer, precisely by finding God in all things. Thus Ignatius, through Polanco, instructed Father Andrew Oviedo, one of the most obstinate champions of extended prayer: "Besides the obligatory breviary, he should not employ more time in prayer, meditation and examination of conscience than one hour, (therefore, the same length of time as prescribed for Scholastics), so that he might have more time remaining for other things in the service of God. In the midst of duties, he can certainly stay in the presence of God, and thus pray constantly, while directing everything to the greater service and the greater glory of God." [39]

Furthermore, Saint Ignatius personally wrote to Francis Borgia, who, under the influence of Oviedo and others, always remained somewhat inclined to the "longing for the desert" of extended prayer (so that the question may be asked whether Ignatius entirely succeeded in "converting" him): "As far as I personally can form a judgment about you in our Lord, you would do better in my estimation to give half the time you have up to now set aside for prayer to work, study or dealing with the neighbor. In the future you will

[37] *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 652.
[38] *MH Nadal* IV, 677.
[39] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 309.

certainly need not only infused, but also acquired knowledge. Seek always only to preserve your soul in interior peace and calm readiness for the time when our Lord wants to work in you: for without a doubt there is more virtue and grace in the ability to enjoy God in a variety of employments and in different places than in just one alone. With the help of God we must profit very much by such graces."[40]

Father Caspar Berze, an outstanding Netherlander, the best co-worker of Francis Xavier in India, received a letter from Ignatius, occasioned by further Portuguese attempts for longer periods of prayer: "Since the climate there is even less suited for meditation than it is here, there is so much the less reason for extending the time for prayer. But we can certainly raise our mind to God from time to time during our occupations and studies. If we direct everything to the service of God, all is prayer. Everyone belonging to the Society must be permeated with this conviction, because love in action does not permit them time for long prayer. Therefore, they have no reason to believe that God is less pleased by their work than by their prayer." [41]

The same thought recurs again in a consoling letter from St. Ignatius to Father Godinho who had complained about the prayer-disturbing burden of administrative occupations: "The conduct of temporal affairs may, to be sure, seem to some extent a distracting occupation and indeed it may be. But I do not doubt, that your pure intention and the direction of all your work to the honor of God transforms these occupations into something spiritual and highly pleasing to the Divine Goodness. Exterior occupations, undertaken for God's greater service in accordance with His will (following the direction of obedience), can not only be equivalent to the constant union and recollection of contemplation, but are even more pleasing to God, insofar as they proceed from an even more ardent love. May He, Who gave it to the Prophets, grant you that union of prayer and work, which we need according to your declaration." [42]

And again to another superior who was saddened under the

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[40] *Mon. Ign.* I, 2, 234.
[41] *Mon. Ign.* I, 6, 91.
[42] *Mon. Ign.* I, 4, 127.

yoke of his office: "One need not be surprised if on account of the burden of government he occasionally experiences a lack of devotion and is full of distractions. But if one only bears this lack of devotion and these distractions with patience—with the thought of the holy obligation which is imposed through obedience and brotherly love, and adding the intention of serving God thereby—then they will not be without high reward before God—nay, an even greater reward will be theirs." [43]

What the previous texts have already indicated is expressly emphasized by St. Ignatius and his faithful interpreter, Nadal. The Jesuit has to direct all prayer to the apostolate and by the apostolate his prayer is fructified. Ignatius formulated this briefly in one instance as follows: "A distraction borne according to the will of God in the service of one's neighbor cannot do any harm." [44] But in his very beautiful instruction concerning prayer in the Society of Jesus, Father Nadal does not leave room for any doubt that for the Jesuit the value of his prayer must be judged by their apostolic fruitfulness: "Our Prayer should be such that it increases and guides the spiritual relish in our activities by permeating them and giving them strength in the Lord; and our activities should increase our strength and joy in prayer. In this way Martha and Mary being united and helping each other, we do not embrace only one part of the Christian life, the better part, viz., contemplation, but laying aside anxiety and trouble, Mary helps Martha and is united to her." [45] "Prayer and meditation as they are practiced in the Society of Jesus must as a consequence give each one of us the strength and courage to apply ourselves entirely to the works which the Society undertakes and which are all of the same type: preaching, explaining Scripture, teaching Christian Doctrine, giving the Exercises, hearing confessions, dispensing the Blessed Sacrament and practising other good works. In these labors we must find God in peace and calm, in an inner surrender of the whole man, in light and inner serenity, with a contented heart, that glows with the love of God. And all this we should seek in all other works, even if these are exterior." [46]

[43] *Mon. Ign.* I, 9, 125.
[44] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.
[45] *MH Nadal* IV, 674.
[46] *Ibid.*, 681.

How well Nadal here expresses the mind of St. Ignatius, is shown by this testimony of a companion: "Ignatius wished that the same spirit he himself possessed in a high degree should be found also in the sons of the Society, namely, that in each and every work of love they should have no less devotion than in prayer and meditation since it is fitting that we do everything only out of love and for the service of God and to His honor and glory." [47]

Thus according to the mind and spirit of the Father of the Order, the daily life of its sons is realized in work, study for the Scholastics, the apostolate for the Fathers. The consequent impossibility for extended prayer is fully compensated by "Seeking God in All Things." Then the whole day is a prayer as well for the Jesuit as for the monks, only in a different way.

III

What does Ignatius mean by "Seeking God in All Things"?

To prevent any false interpretation of this central religious ideal, after a proof of the facts has been furnished, we must here seek a deeper comprehension of the meaning and essence of this principle—"Seeking God in All Things." In doing this we shall always look to its connection with Ignatian spirituality as a whole.

That which became St. Ignatius' possession in that hour of grace on the River Cardoner, was never to be lost but ever grew in meaning. Each of his disciples should grow in understanding this grace of their founder. "All Things," i.e., the whole created world, natural and supernatural, the history of individuals, of nations and of the Church, all should be seen in their relation to God—the deepest of all relations. They must be seen in the light of God and, therefore, in their basic truth. "In this regard they should exercise themselves in seeking the presence of God in all things, for example, in their relations with others, in traveling, in seeing, tasting, hearing, thinking, in fact, in all that they do: for the Divine Majesty by His presence is in all things in effect and in essence." [48] Or as Father Nadal once said, "We must observe

[47] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 520.

[48] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 510.

the activity of God in His creatures to see how this activity is truly in God." [49]

Francis Borgia, when still a Duke, received some valuable advice from Ignatius on this matter: "If men go outside themselves, as it were, in order to enter wholly into their Creator and Lord, they become aware by holy consolation and constant recollection how our eternal and highest Good dwells in everything that has been created, giving existence and conservation to all things by His unending being and activity. So I also believe of you, that you find spiritual elevation in many things. For whoever loves God with his entire soul, is advanced in devotion by everything, constantly growing in an ever more intimate union of love with his Creator and Lord." [50]

In a more particular way, Ignatius teaches his followers to find God in their fellow man. Thus, for example, he instructs the Novices in the Constitutions: "In everything they should seek and desire to yield the advantage to others, looking upon them sincerely as their superiors, and showing them that outward respect and reverence which each one's rank requires. The result will be a mutual considerateness and an increase in devotion; and they will all praise God our Lord whom each should try to recognize in his neighbor as in His image." [51]

Wholly in the spirit of St. Ignatius, Father Nadal has said on this point: "Let us place the perfection of our prayer in the contemplation of the most Holy Trinity, which extends itself to our neighbor in the employments of our calling." [52]

According to St. Ignatius, in the Constitutions and in his classic Letter on Obedience, a genuine religious foundation in obedience demands that all see in a superior the supreme authority of God and hear in his command the word of God. "In the Superiors who direct us, we must see the Person of Christ, in whose place they stand." [53]

Since the Divine Trinity has appeared to us in Jesus Christ

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[49] *MH Nadal* IV, 678.
[50] *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 339-342.
[51] *Const.* III, 1, 4.
[52] M. Nicolau, *Jeronimo Nadal* (Madrid, 1949), p. 256.
[53] *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 675.

and all history is centered in Him, the religious view of the world is Christological: "Since the life of prayer is a portion of the spiritual life in Christ Jesus, we must become familiar with Him who is eternal Light and infinite Goodness, and love Him far more than anything else. We must see and love all things in Him." [54]

Of course that deep mystic insight into the unity of all things in God is not given to the disciple as it was to the holy Founder of the Order. But in a living faith, through contemplation and study, he should seek in his own way to attain an ever more unified view of all things in God. A view of all creation in the spirit of the "Contemplation for Obtaining Love" will be for him on that account a constant desire and a growing joyous discovery.

The Continual Search for the Divine Will

Ignatius never considered this view of creation, the finding of God in all things in a spirit of faith, as a goal and end in itself. We find in him nothing of that Neo-Platonic intellectualism in his Christocentric mysticism or in the theory of the great Christian masters. In his view of God, central to which are God's holy will and omnipotent activity, he does not consider mere knowledge as the most important thing. It is deeds that matter, surrender to the will of God and loving service. Therefore, for St. Ignatius, "Seeking God in All Things" meant search for the will of God through humble prayer and personal effort in all decisions occurring in human life.

After his conversion at Loyola, Ignatius was constantly searching for this divine will, first for his personal life, then increasingly more, especially after 1539, for his beloved group of followers. It is deeply stirring how systematically he labored between the years of 1521-1539 to find the will of God for his life and his work. "During this time, Ignatius did not know what our Lord intended him to do. But God knew and so directed everything in order to make him Founder of the Society," as Ribadeneira once testified.[55] Walter Nigg in his book "Warriors of God" has masterfully described this pas-

[54] *MH Nadal* IV, 676.

[55] *MH Ribadeneira* II, 903.

sionate searching for the will of God: "To find the will of God was the central problem of his life . . . His concern was always to discover the will of God. Around this goal and around nothing else he revolved incessantly as around a fireplace. It is the source of the compelling charm of his career. Unless one considers this constant effort Ignatius' later life remains an incomprehensible puzzle. Above all we must center our attention on how Ignatius never wanted to act according to his own will, therefore never to do what appealed to him just at that moment. He continually strives to discover what God wants him to do in this particular situation. . . Ignatius knew that this search for the divine will is not easy, but he never surrendered. Throughout his whole life we find this often painful effort at continually renewed enquiries after the divine will. His constant prayer for the manifestation of God's will is exceedingly touching to observe, and one becomes absorbed with him in this search. One can not imagine a more exciting struggle. If you want to become familiar with his heart, you have to view this man in a restless seeking after the will of God." [56]

The search for the will of God is also the central theme and the burning concern of the Exercises, as Ignatius expresses it in the very introduction—". . . by the term 'spiritual exercises' is meant every method of preparing and disposing the soul to seek and find the will of God in the disposition of one's life." [57] Each individual exercise contributes to this effort to know the will of God, first and foremost, however, in the choice of a vocation and way of life. Once again, the final meditation seeks to expand this humble and noble-minded readiness for the will of God, into an all-embracing plan of life. Thus "Finding God in All Things" means precisely to seek, find, and perform the Divine will at every hour and in every action. Unreserved readiness for the service of God and complete submission to God's will, in all matters, whether great or small, is the meaning of the *Suscipe*.

Another gripping testimony to this is the *Spiritual Journal* of the Saint. His main concern for forty days focused on the

[56] W. Nigg, *Vom Geheimnis der Mönche* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1953) p. 378.

[57] Spiritual Exercises, n. 1. [58] *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 83.

poverty of the Order's churches. More basically, however, he asked what was the holy will of God in this regard. Therefore we are not surprised to meet this passionate concern about the recognition of God's will in the closing formula of innumerable letters written by the Saint.

"In conclusion, I beseech God our Lord, who one day will judge us, to bestow upon us in His infinite goodness the grace that we might recognize correctly His most holy will and fulfill it entirely," we read in a letter from Paris to his brother, the Lord of Loyola.[58] And in a letter to Sister Teresa Rejadella from Venice, half a year before the arrival of his companions from Paris, he wrote: "I conclude by begging the Most Holy Trinity in Their infinite goodness for abundant grace to recognize always Their most holy will and to accomplish it entirely." [59] And to Polanco, shortly before he took up his post as secretary to Ignatius: "May God in His infinite goodness bestow upon us the fullness of His grace so that we may always recognize His most holy will correctly and accomplish it entirely." [60]

He wrote to the prior of the Teutonic Order in Venice: "In recommending ourselves to the prayers of Your Grace, we beg the infinite Goodness of our Lord that He will give us all abundant grace always to recognize His most holy will correctly and fulfill it completely." [61]

He wrote to Father Godinho at Coimbra: "May Christ our Lord help us all with His abundant grace that we may always recognize His divine will correctly and fulfill it entirely." [62] He wrote to the Carthusian, Prior Kalckbrenner, in Cologne: "May the immeasurable love of God grant us His Holy Spirit and His grace, that we may always recognize His divine will correctly and accomplish it." [63]

We should not say that these are mere formulas. Ignatius was never a man of empty formulas, least of all in religious matters. Rather these closures of his letters are an everyday testimony of his passionate concern for the will of God in his life and in his Order.

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[59] *Ibid.*, 107.
[60] *Ibid.*, 460.
[61] *Mon. Ign.* I, 2, 447.
[62] *Mon. Ign.* I, 4, 127.
[63] *Mon. Ign.* I, 8, 585.

How this deep concern for the recognition of the divine will has passed over to his followers as an enkindling spark of burning zeal, appears in the letters of St. Francis Xavier. No one would suspect Xavier of a merely exterior imitation of Ignatius' style.

Xavier wrote Ignatius, on January 12, 1549: "So I conclude, begging your holy and fatherly love (and I write this on my knees as if I had you before me, beloved Father of my soul) to recommend me to God, our Lord, in your Holy Sacrifices and in your prayers so that He may let me understand His most holy will in this life and grant me His grace to fulfill it entirely. Amen. In the same spirit I recommend myself to all the members of our Society." [64] He wrote to King John III of Portugual: "May our Lord permit your Majesty to realize His most holy will in your innermost soul and grant you the grace that you may be able to perform it in such a manner as one day at the hour of death you shall rejoice to have acted . . ." [65] And once more Xavier addressed the same person: "May God, our Lord, in His love and inexhaustible mercy illumine your Majesty in your innermost soul and make you understand His will so that you may be enabled to perform it in such a manner as one day at the hour of death before the divine judgment seat may redound to your joy."[66] Finally Xavier on another occasion wrote to Ignatius: "For the love of God and His service, I beg your holy paternal love and the entire Society continually to remember me in your prayers and it is my deepest desire that your holy paternal love itself may recommend me to all of Ours and especially to the professed. May our Lord, in response to this widespread intercession, give me the grace to recognize correctly His most holy will in this life and accomplish it to perfection." [67]

Much more than the view of creation in a spirit of faith which, to be sure, is an essential presupposition, we come here to the real meaning of "Seeking God in All Things." The genuine Ignatian interpretation means that: At every hour of

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[64] *MH Mon. Missionum, Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1945) II, 16.

[65] *Ibid.*, 63.

[66] *Ibid.*, 119.

[67] *Ibid.*, 293.

the day and before making any decision, one must inquire after the will of God and then allow God to dispose of oneself entirely. Or, after the example of Christ, "to devote Himself exclusively to the service of the Eternal Father." [68] Thus the formula to seek God in all things has a far deeper significance than merely serving God in all things. We can see why the mysticism of Ignatius is aptly termed by Joseph de Guibert as a mysticism of service.[69] Ignatius, therefore, understands prayer as being conformity to the will of God.[70] He does not consider service as a mere consequence of mystical favors but rather as their substance and goal.

In this respect "Seeking God in All Things" is also closely united to the ideal of perfect obedience. It is from this same source that the Ignatian concept of an instrument receives its special meaning.

"Seeking God in All Things" signifies for Ignatius not only an external conformity to the will of God but an interior surrender of the heart to Divine Providence. Therefore, universal purity of intention, in the interpretation of the Saint himself, is the primary object of the considerations for choice of a state of life as found in the Exercises.

In a previously quoted text of the Constitutions the concepts of "finding God," "pure intention," and "wholehearted love" are considered by St. Ignatius as essentially interjoined: "All should zealously endeavor to have an upright intention, not merely in their state of life, but even in all its details. In these they should always honestly strive to serve and please God for His goodness . . ." [71]

In many other places too, the author of the Constitutions has occasion to speak about a pure intention in every act, especially in the Fourth Part which treats of the Scholastics. Then again, in the Seventh Part which treats of the choice of apostolic labors and in the Tenth Part where purity of intention is reckoned as part of that supernatural foundation which contributes more than any other means to the preservation of the proper spirit in the Society.

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[68] Spiritual Exercises, n. 135.

[69] *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 19 (1938) 16.

[70] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

[71] *Const.* III, 1, 26.

"As on the one hand, attention should be given that they (the Scholastics) do not grow cold in their love for the religious life on account of zeal for their studies, so on the other hand, there will not be much opportunity at this time for mortification, prayers, and prolonged meditation. Scholastics should devote themselves to acquiring knowledge with the pure intention of serving God. This in a certain sense claims the entire man during the time of studies. But such study will not be less pleasing to God our Lord but more." [72] Furthermore they must be steadfastly determined to study with all their might while they deeply impress upon themselves that in the houses of study they could do nothing more pleasing to God, provided they have this right intention." [73]

When Father Miron as confessor at the Court of Lisbon proposed his difficulties, Ignatius wrote him a letter which treats with the greatest freedom of the true apostolic sentiment towards high and low station. In the middle of this reply we read the sentence: "If we proceed with a right intention, not seeking our own advantage, but rather solely the interests of Jesus Christ, He in His infinite goodness will certainly protect us." [74] The same advice he transmits through Polanco in an instruction to the fathers at the college in Prague: "The better we ourselves are, the more fit instruments we are for the spiritual welfare of our neighbor. Therefore everyone should strive to seek solely the things of Jesus Christ and should awaken in himself lively desires of being a truer and more loyal servant of God and of procuring the success of His cause in everything. Therefore everyone should genuinely deny his own will and judgment according to the divine direction which obedience gives him, whether he be employed in great matters or small." [75]

Just as Ignatius considers conformity to the will of God as prayer, so also he considers a pure intention, directing all to God, as prayer.[76] Or: "One should not find less devotion in the exterior works of love and obedience than in prayer and meditation because we should act only out of love and for the service of God, to His honor and glory." [77]

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[72] *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 2.
[73] *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 2.
[74] *Mon. Ign.* I, 4, 627.
[75] *Mon. Ign.* I, 10, 689-697.
[76] *Mon. Ign.* I, 6, 91.
[77] *Mon. Ign.* I, 3, 502.

In connection with "Seeking God in All Things," the saint repeatedly refers to the necessity of a pure intention. "He wished very much that all members of the Society should be upright, pure and straight in their intentions, without admixture of vanity and the stain of self-will and self-seeking. He wished that they seek the glory of God and the salvation of souls in their work and in all things, each according to the talent that God has given him." [78]

Purity of intention in every act is nothing else than genuine conformity to the will of God. It is interior surrender to our Lord. It is the constant raising of the heart to God. It is continual prayer. The ideal of maintaining a pure intention and the necessity of seeking God in all things are essentially identical in the mind of Ignatius.

Pure Love that Serves

Again and again in these texts, the final and deepest motive of every act has been that which the full meaning of "Seeking God in All Things" implies, namely, pure, selfless, wholehearted love. Conformity to the will of God is brought to perfection by a pure intention which in the spirituality of St. Ignatius, is achieved chiefly by love. Therefore, once again we meet the theme of the "Contemplation for Obtaining Love." Because God meets us with His love in all things we should answer Him with a like love in all things. This love corresponds with our total dependence upon God, a dependence that is not lessened even through love. We should answer God with a love that serves, that is, a love that fulfills the will and desire of the beloved in everything without any admixture of self-love.

"We should be continually on the watch to maintain our heart in the love of God to a high degree so that we do not love anything created except in Him. We must be sure our sole desire is to preserve our interior union with God, dealing with our neighbor out of love for Him." Such is the first of those twelve golden rules of the holy Founder to the Scholastics of Alcala.[79] And midway through the religious instruc-

[78] Ribadeneira in *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 447.

[79] *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 674.

tion on the young members of the order, Ignatius completes the idea of the necessity of seeking God in all things and of a pure intention by referring to love. "They should frequently remind the novices to seek God our Lord in all things, casting from themselves as far as possible the love of all creatures, in order to direct their love to the creator, loving Him in all and all things in Him, according to His most holy and divine will." [80]

We meet the same motive in a letter of the Saint to Francis Borgia, at that time still the Duke of Gandia: "Whosoever loves God with his whole heart is advanced in devotion by everything. He becomes more and more devout and attains to a constantly increasing union with his Creator and Lord." [81]

Father Nadal says in his great instruction on prayer: "But there is in our hearts the love that God, our Lord, gave to us. From this love all our acts must begin. Its glow must be felt in all our acts. In this manner all our prayers will be wonderfully effective in all the interior and exterior works of the Society." [82]

Thus the essential similarity of the different formulas has been proven: holiness is equivalent to meeting God in all things in a spirit of faith. This is equivalent to seeking and fulfilling His most holy will in every situation of life. This is equivalent to a pure intention in every act. This is equivalent to a love which serves in the entire breadth and depth of human existence. Ignatius considered contemplation not only as familiarity with God in prayer but in every activity of life.[83] The unity of the love of God and neighbor is also implied here as the sole precept and the epitome of holiness.

IV

The Way to this Religious Ideal

The formula "Finding God in All Things" came from God according to Ignatius in two ways. The idea was granted to him personally as a great and pure grace of his mystical life. Secondly, the Trinity, from whom Ignatius descended to creatures, helped him to execute the ideal. His follower too, who

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[80] *Const.* III, 1, 26.
[81] *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 342.
[82] *MH Nadal* IV, 681.
[83] *Const.* IX, 2, 1.

treads the same path of seeking God in all things, must notice this two-fold primacy of God. That is, he must pray often and confidently for the grace to be able to find God in all things, to serve and love Him. He must first of all come to God with a heart genuinely converted so as never again to lose Him even in a busy apostolic ministry.

To cooperate with divine grace and to help in constantly turning the heart to God that one may find God in all things, Ignatius points to three indispensable presuppositions.

1. The first demands, again in the spirit of the Exercises, continual mortification and self-denial. In the battle against long prayer, Ignatius had continually indicated this presupposed asceticism without which neither conformity to the will of God nor purity of intention nor constant recollection are possible.

Let us recall once again that conversation between Ignatius and Nadal on Nov. 22, 1554, which Father da Camara relates in his *Memoriale:* "Our Father said that no one could dissuade him from the conviction that one hour of prayer is sufficient for the Scholastics provided they practice mortification and denial."[84] And Father da Camara sums up his conversation of the next day with St. Ignatius as follows: "Accordingly for our Father mortification and denial of self-will are the foundations of the spiritual life." [85]

Again and again in his battle against many exterior works of penance and extended time for prayer, Ignatius emphasizes the connection between finding God in all things and mortification and self-denial. Thus, for instance, in the already mentioned letter to the Scholastics of Coimbra on May 7, 1544, and again in a letter of June 1, 1551, to the rector of Coimbra concerning the direction of the Scholastics: "The truly mortified man who has conquered his passions finds in his prayer what he desires much more readily than a person who is not mortified and not striving for self mastery. For this reason our blessed Father held mortification in such high esteem. He preferred it to prayer that does not seek mortification as a means to divine union." [86]

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[84] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 278.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] *Ibid.*, 471.

In the discussions concerning the settlement of the time for prayer which several provincial congregations engaged in after the death of Francis Borgia, General of the Order, the Portuguese Province of the Order proposed an exceptionally wise solution. It rested upon the supposition that the life of prayer in the Society had suffered considerable damage. To be sure, the time devoted to prayer had not been curtailed, but it was bearing much less fruit as was evidenced in the decline of apostolic zeal. First on the list among the remedies and the most necessary was a constant mortification. Then the rich graces of prayer of the former period could be expected. The other recommendations of the assembled fathers were as follows: cultivation of the life of prayer in the true spirit and according to the genuine methods of the Exercises instead of adopting ways of prayer foreign and strange to the Order which only furthered the interests of self-will; elimination of all secular employments; moderation in bodily recreation and in the thirst for knowledge; and finally, the practice of the presence of God which belongs to the spiritual essence of the Order.[87] All in all, this is a document dictated in the genuine spirit of Ignatius. It was not in vain that Father da Camara was one of the leading men of this Provincial Congregation.

According to Ignatius only the individual who has leapt out of all disordered attachment to the world and his own ego is capable of truly finding God in all things. In the opinion of Father Nadal, few reach the very height of this ideal of holiness, precisely because many lack that the complete indifference of the will and true freedom of heart requisite for it.

2. The second presupposition is a constant source of help in finding God in all things. It is true prayer which is absolutely necessary and implies for Ignatius not only perseverance but skill. Without formal prayer at determined times, the ideal of finding God in all things remains a dangerous illusion. On the other hand, methodical prayer must be surpassed and developed into a habitual attitude of prayer that is no longer bound by time or by method.

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[87] *Archivum Hist. S. J.*, III (1934) 97.

"Recollection and solitude in the beginning" are good.[88] There is need for a "definite rule and method," "a period of training." [89] This training in prayer from which Ignatius expects much fruit of personal prayer, is given especially in the Exercises. But above and beyond this training, there is demanded a continual cultivation of an attitude of prayer through a regular program of interior prayer and meditation. "Once a person has made the Exercises," says Father Nadal, "the life of prayer must be fostered, preserved, and increased through perseverance in prayer and in the employments of our calling." [90] But this practice of prayer should further develop organically, as he adds in the very next sentence: "Finally, we must find God, our Lord, in all things and our own individual method of prayer." [91]

3. The third presupposition is the explicit practice of seeking God in all things which is bound up with constant renewal of recollection. Only by the constant repetition of this will a habit gradually be acquired. Even Ignatius himself, one of the greatest mystics, once wrote to Simon Rodriguez: "Every hour I seek to recollect myself interiorly while I reflect that in important affairs the good angels always have their goal before their eyes in order to accomplish God's design." [92]

As regards this exercise, Father Manare relates a striking example: "When a certain Father once complained to Ignatius that he was called often to the door by strangers and that this was seriously distracting him from interior union with God, the Saint replied: 'He should always receive with great love those who came to him to obtain spiritual help and consolation. If he is summoned, he should, either beforehand or while on the way, raise his mind to God through ejaculatory prayer and beg that He may deign to help that particular soul through his mediation. But then he should direct all his thoughts and conversation to being useful in our Lord to the visitor. In this way, he will not only reap no harm from the visits but will even profit. The fact that he could not be as

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[88] *MH Nadal* IV, 673.
[89] *Ibid.*, 645, 691.
[90] *Ibid.*, 675.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Mon. Ign.* I, 12, 630.

recollected under such circumstances as otherwise should not disturb him, because a distraction taken upon oneself for God's sake brings no harm.' " [93]

We come upon the same advice in another saying of the Founder: "We must do nothing of any importance without first asking, however briefly, counsel from God as from a very good and wise Father." [94] The examination of conscience, to be made twice a day, on which Ignatius laid more stress and considered of greater importance than meditation, also has as its object daily recollection in God's presence.

How "Finding God in All Things" is at the same time a grace from God and an exercise for us, Nadal has explained in his instruction on prayer. He wrote: "It is good to know that there are two ways to enter into prayer. The one method is to meditate in all simplicity and humility upon creation—be it creatures in the natural or supernatural order, the holy sacraments, all the graces which God gives. With sweet joy of soul, we view the activity of God in these creatures and reflect how this activity is truly in God. According to the second method, grace anticipates us with a sublime illumination so that we can perceive and view the eternal God Himself in all other things."[95] The trinitarian mysticism of St. Ignatius is a good example of this second method in its purest form. It does not lie in the power of man to procure or even to merit such moments of grace. But he can prepare himself for them with humility and holy desire by raising his mind to God in a spirit of faith in all the activities of daily life, a practice constantly accessible to him.

In a true monastic spirituality, apostolic labors are considered either as a break in contemplative recollection, or at least as its interruption. Through "Seeking God in All Things," Ignatius has indicated to his Order, which is entirely directed to the apostolate, the way to an interior union of prayer and work. Prayer urges to work, work enriches prayer, so that they become increasingly one. The follower of Ignatius is a contemplative in action.

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[93] A. Huonder, *Ignatius von Loyola* (Cologne, 1932), p. 179. Cf. Resp. Man., n. 17, *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.

[94] *Mon. Ign.* IV, 1, 515.

[95] *MH Nadal* IV, 678 f.

Father Nadal in his treatise "On Prayer, Especially for Those of the Society" [96] has a paragraph which is worth noting. And we should not forget that Polanco in his *Chronicon* says that Nadal had a deeper understanding of Ignatius and a better knowledge of his spirit than any other.[97] Nadal writes: "Consider that the active and contemplative life should go together. The time of probation, so exacting, brings active life to a certain perfection, and brings contemplative life to dominate, govern and guide the active life with peace and light in the Lord. In this way one comes to the superior active life,—which supposes action and contemplation. Such an active life has the power to impress this action and contemplation according to what is more conducive to God's greater service. In one word: the action of charity united to God is perfect action." And with this we end this article.

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[96] *Ibid.*, 679. A translation of this important document is to be found in *Woodstock Letters* 89 (1960) 285-294.

[97] *Chronicon* III, 427.

Brother Henry Laurence Fieth

Gerard L. Gordon, S.J.

When you look back at the life a man has lived, you often wonder what particulars of it are the high lights or the extraordinary things, the situations and moments that should be written about after he has passed to his eternal reward. Some are famous for one incident in their lives, sometimes the result of circumstances they could not control. Some live lives that, on the face of them, cause you to wonder if there is anything extraordinary that you can build a story around. However, any man who has lived the life that God has willed for him has lived a worthwhile and successful life, certainly in God's eyes a thing of permanence and beauty. It can be written off, perhaps, with a trite statement, such as, "He was a good man" or "He was a good religious, he lived his rule." I am going to write about a man who was extraordinary be-

cause he was so ordinary, a religious who infused into the everyday living of the life of a Coadjutor Brother of the Society of Jesus an extraordinary love of God and his fellow man.

Henry Laurence Fieth was born on August 16, 1875, to a German immigrant couple, on the lower East Side of New York City. This section of New York was a melting pot of German, Italian and Irish immigrants who tried to keep their own identities and national customs but were drawn against their will into the turbulence of a growing city, drawn by the necessity of survival, the constant fight for their daily bread.

New York of the late nineteenth century is often considered picturesque. Though it had its attractions, it was a difficult place in which to grow up for the son of poor parents. Brother Fieth's early life in New York City was a mixture of many things, things to remember and incidents best forgotten. His earliest recollections are of his father, a German soldier turned wood carver. Their relationship was very close and in Brother's early years they were an inseparable pair. Mr. Fieth gave to his son his own appreciation of beauty and instilled in him an iron discipline and integrity of character that grew as he grew and blossomed into a maturity of wisdom and love of God that would be his outstanding characteristics in the last years of his life.

Apart from isolated incidents that were gleaned from Brother's many stories and conversations, we know little of his life as a young man. His father died when he was in grammar school and he started working to help support his mother, brother and sister. He held various jobs, from working on the docks to working in a Brooklyn brewery. Finally he settled on silk weaving as a trade and became quite good at it. He often talked about his days as a silk weaver and we learned that they were very happy days.

The Artist

Brother possessed a love of beauty that made him want to express it in some creative way. He decided to learn how to draw and to paint with oil colors. He started taking lessons at the old Cooper Institute and eventually private instruction from a German artist. Unfortunately we do not have

his name as Brother never talked of him except as the "Professor." This old artist helped to form and discipline in his young pupil a fine sense of color, particularly in regard to nature. Brother's art work might not be considered great but it did have originality and his sense of color was true to life, as true as paint and canvas allow. Through a busy life his painting was never more than a fond hobby, but in his old age it was a real support and friend which helped to keep him busy and contented.

After the deaths of his mother and sister, Henry Fieth applied for admission to the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus as a Coadjutor Brother. He was accepted and entered St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York, in January 1905. He received the habit in February of the same year and formally started his novitiate.

Father George Pettit was Master of Novices and Rector of St. Andrew when Brother entered. Brother often talked of Father Pettit with great warmth and respect. He was greatly impressed by Father, and particularly by his care of the sick and old in his community. Under this great director of souls, Henry Fieth formed the simple basic spirituality that was the foundation of his whole life as a Jesuit. The love of God, His Mother, and of the Society of Jesus that Father Pettit helped to instill into this young man of twenty-nine was never to fade or grow weak. As he grew older in the service of Christ, it blossomed to a maturity that gave him the simple, sincere humility and prayerfulness that were so evident to all who knew him in his last trying years as an invalid at St. Andrew.

Brother Henry Fieth pronounced the first vows of the Society on February 24, 1907, in the domestic chapel of the novitiate at Poughkeepsie. His first years as a Vow Brother were spent at St. Andrew working in the infirmary and bakery. In 1909 Brother was sent to St. George's College in Kingston, Jamaica, in the British West Indies.

From Brother's recollections of his stay on this mission, it is clear that Jamaica and its people had a special place in his heart. He spent seven years among the Jamaicans, years that were happy and productive. He loved these simple people and they responded to his love and care of them. A man of

great energy, he decided that there was no reason why many of the vegetables and livestock familiar to us in the States could not be produced on this tropical island. Using the community for his experiments, he started to grow vegetables that were strange to the native Jamaicans and apparently the results were fair. As Brother put it, "Nobody got sick." However, one of his experiments did backfire. He had been raising chickens with success and decided to add guinea pigs to his experiments. When they were first served at table, the community thought they were chickens. When it was found out that the chicken were guinea pigs there was a minor eruption, ending the raising of guinea pigs and, according to Brother Fieth, stopping a great potential source of revenue for the Society in Jamaica.

In Brother's last years, Jamaica, the Jesuit missionaries and the people he knew while stationed there were often in his conversations. One of the men he often talked about was the vicar apostolic at the time, Bishop Collins. This saintly man had made a deep impression on Henry Fieth, who felt that the Bishop's patience and experience had been invaluable to him in his own dealings with a strange country and culture.

In 1916 Brother Fieth was called back to New York, and assigned to Brooklyn Preparatory School. On February 2, 1918, he pronounced the final vows of a Temporal Coadjutor at the main altar of St. Ignatius Church. Brother left Brooklyn in 1924 for St. Andrew-on-Hudson. After three years as baker at the novitiate, he returned to Brooklyn Preparatory. In 1929 he left Carroll Street again for St. Francis Xavier's in Manhattan. Brother spent ten years at Xavier as buyer and supervisor of the kitchen and refectory.

From Xavier he went to the new tertianship at Auriesville, New York, where he spent four years there employed in household duties and doing a little gardening. In 1943 it was back to the city, this time Jersey City and St. Peter's Preparatory School.

The years were starting to catch up with Brother, and in 1949 it was thought best by superiors that he be transferred to the sanatorium at Monroe, New York, where he would be able to rest and take care of his health which had been failing. Retirement as such was out of the question as far as

this old soldier of Christ was concerned; and he made himself busy doing light household tasks and a little gardening. But this was just a prelude to the big battle that was to start, the final illness that proved his strength as a true Jesuit and follower of Christ.

In the fall of 1949, Brother suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and was sent to St. Francis Hospital, Poughkeepsie, New York. Thus began the last years of Brother's life, ten years of hard physical suffering, but also ten years of heroic resignation to God's Holy Will.

There is so much that could be said about these last years of Brother Fieth that it is difficult to pick out the high lights. I had the privilege of living with Brother during these years, and came to know him more as an exemplary Jesuit and friend than as someone for whose care I was responsible. This was due to his cheerful spirit, his complete lack of selfishness, and his firm will to live as long as the good Lord wished and in whatever circumstances He might allow. There was no rebellion, no self-pity, no irritation at being an invalid dependent upon others for everything.

After months in St. Francis Hospital, Brother came to the infirmary at St. Andrew. He was able to walk a little with the use of two canes, but had to spend most of his time in a wheelchair. That Brother was able to walk at all was considered remarkable by the doctors who attended him while he was in the hospital. It had been their unanimous opinion that he would not be able to walk again and that he would have to spend the rest of his days in bed or a wheel chair. When Brother was told this verdict of the doctors he just smiled and asked if it would be all right if he tried to walk with the use of two canes; if he couldn't, nothing would be lost by trying. The first time it was just a step or two from the bed, but each day he kept trying and soon he was able to walk across the room without any assistance but his canes. He kept practicing, and after he came to the infirmary he decided that he would take a short walk on the grounds each day during the pleasant weather. Brother became a familiar figure as he slowly moved down the path by the handball courts. He had a smile for all he met on his walks, and everybody took it for granted that he was finding it easier to get

around. This was not the case. Since he was not able to place any weight on his legs, he was carrying the entire weight of his body on his arms and shoulders. The courage and perseverance this took were heroic.

A Novitiate Tradition

Through all his years in the infirmary, Brother was its bright spot. His cheerfulness and simplicity won the novices immediately. He was interested in their problems and work, and always had a funny or interesting story to tell them. No matter how small the task or favor they did for him, he never failed to thank them and show his appreciation. He was always courteous and considerate of them, and gave them his entire attention whenever they had anything to say. He enjoyed having young people around him, and as novices came and went, Brother Fieth passed down from year to year as a special novitiate tradition.

Every evening someone from the infirmary wheeled Brother over to the recreation room after dinner was over. He enjoyed these daily get-togethers with the Brothers and would omit going only if he were too ill. Brother tried to partake in all the community exercises that his health allowed. His wheel chair was a familiar sight to all of us as he was pushed to and from the domestic chapel for Benediction. At Christmas time he would come into the refectory for dinner as he felt that was one day on which he should be with the community as much as possible. There were times when these trips from the infirmary were tiring and uncomfortable, but he never complained and would never omit them unless the doctor or one of the Brothers in the infirmary suggested that he get some extra rest.

Brother Fieth established a regular routine of work and prayer for himself and adhered to it rigidly. He spent a good part of his day doing water color sketches. Each sketch received the very best of his efforts and he was most careful in his choice of subjects, relying mostly on pious pictures for his material. Daily Mass in the infirmary chapel was never omitted while it was possible to go. No matter how poorly he felt or how much pain he had during the long hours of the night, he would get out of bed unassisted and be ready for

Mass. When he could no longer attend the Holy Sacrifice, he received Holy Communion in his room every morning. His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was very moving and, after his reception of Holy Communion, he was so completely absorbed in prayer that he did not notice the presence of anyone in the room.

During these last years it was necessary to hospitalize Brother often. Each time he went to the hospital most of the community felt that he would not return, but it was God's will that he drink of the chalice deeply. These episodes of acute illness became more frequent as the years went by, and always left him weaker. But his wonderful spirit kept him going and the familiar smile was always there.

In January of 1960, Brother Fieth spent a month in St. Francis Hospital. It seemed impossible that he could get well this time. But the fight was still there and Brother returned to the infirmary in the middle of February. He enjoyed fairly good health for a man in his condition until the eleventh of March. That evening he developed a temperature and became quite weak. The end came a little after three o'clock in the afternoon on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1960.

There is much more that could be written about Brother Fieth which will have to be omitted. And there are many things that cannot be put on paper: the warmth of character, the ardent love of God and of his creatures that this simple, humble Coadjutor Brother encased in a feeble, crippled body. It was my privilege to live with him and take care of his physical needs during these last years; and though he lived a long life in the Society, over fifty years in God's service, it seems to me that these last ten years were most fruitful and productive for Christ and souls. His was a hidden life, an ordinary life; but how well he lived it for God and others!

Father Thomas L. Matthews

Joseph J. Rooney, S.J.

Father Thomas L. Matthews was born in New York City on April 26th, 1897, and was baptized three days later in Guardian Angel Church, Tenth Avenue and 21st Street, only a short distance from Xavier High School to which he devoted the last nineteen years of his life.

His father, John Matthews, and his mother, Jane Breen, both of whom had immigrated from Ireland, were married in 1892 in Saint Joseph's Church, just a short distance south of Saint Francis Xavier's Church. God blessed this union with twelve children, but Mr. and Mrs. Matthews had the extreme sorrow of burying six of these while they were still children. However they were people of deep faith and readily resigned themselves to the will of God.

Thomas was the third child of the family, and while he was still a small boy the family moved to Brooklyn, first to the downtown section and later to the Flatbush area. Here he lived until he left to enter the Society of Jesus. We are told that he was an eager boy, lively, punctual, quick to laughter, ready with an answer, and willing to work. Flatbush in those days was country, not the crowded residential area it is today, and most families had a vegetable garden and a chicken coop. Tom is reported to have been helpful in weeding the garden, feeding the chickens, mowing the lawn, but was also fond of the cherries and peaches which grew on the small plot.

In 1910 Tom finished grammar school in Holy Cross Parish and was enrolled in the new Brooklyn College Preparatory School which the Jesuits had established about two miles away from his home. Because of a scarcity of altar boys at Saint Ignatius Church, which was attached to the college, the Fathers asked him to serve Mass daily, and this he did all through his high school days, though it meant an early morning two mile walk to the Church, another two mile walk back home for breakfast, and a third trip back to the Prep. Why

all the walking? There were streetcars in Flatbush, to be sure, but the Matthews family was large and money was scarce.

On Saturdays and during the summer Tom worked on a wagon with a man who sold fruit, vegetables and fish. The workday started at four in the morning with a trip to the Wallabout Market to pick up the wares. One day in the spring of 1914 the wagon stopped in front of the Matthews home, and Mrs. Matthews called out to tell Tom that a letter had arrived from the Jesuit provincial. After reading the brief notice Tom dashed across the street to the home of a neighbor, waving the letter and crying out, "I'm going to be a Jesuit priest." We can say in truth that the enthusiasm for his vocation, manifested that day, never left him. He had an abiding love for the Society and often spoke of his gratitude to God for having called him to it.

There is little to record of Father Matthews' first seven years as a Jesuit, first at Poughkeepsie, where he entered on July 30th, 1914, and after that at Woodstock where he made his philosophical studies. It was in the regency that he manifested his interest in high school work which was to be the field of his labors, except for the four years from 1932 to 1936 he spent as Father Minister of the 84th Street community in New York.

Regency

During four years of regency at Boston College High School from 1921 to 1925 Mr. Matthews had the distinction of taking one class through the entire four-year course. Perhaps we can sum up this period of his career in no better way than by quoting from a letter written recently by one of his former pupils, Henry Leen of the Boston law firm of Maguire, Roche and Leen. Mr. Leen writes: "Father Matthews was a very wonderful man. I first became acquainted with him in 1921 when I entered Boston College High School as a freshman. He was then a Scholastic, and he continued as my home-room teacher throughout my four years at Boston College High School. I believe this is some kind of a record in and of itself. He was our home-room teacher in Latin, Greek, English and Religion, and was a very competent teacher. However,

I believe he is best remembered for his kindness and great personal interest in the boys he taught. He had a good sense of humor, a keen interest in non-academic problems that affected his students and, I am sure, exercised a profound influence on the lives of the boys with whom he came in contact. Our class published a small year book at the end of our senior year. It contains a class history of the four years which revolved very much around Father Matthews. It is also interesting to note that when he was ordained many of his former pupils were still in college. I am not sure of the figure, but I believe that approximately sixteen of these, including the writer, attended his First Solemn Mass in Brooklyn."

Father Matthews was ordained at Woodstock on June 28th, 1928, by Archbishop Curley, and after his fourth year of theology spent two years as student counsellor at Brooklyn Prep before making his tertianship at Saint Beuno's, Wales. From 1932 to 1936 he was Father Minister at 84th Street, New York, and after that returned once more to what he liked best, working with high school students, first at Gonzaga, Washington, for four years, and then at Xavier, New York, from 1940 until his last illness.

But dates alone do not tell the story of Father Matthews' varied activities. Neither do the abbreviated jottings that follow his name in the successive issues of the Province catalogue. We quoted a moment ago from a letter written from Boston by a former student in which he wrote: "I believe he is best remembered for his kindness and great personal interest in the boys he taught." The writer of this obituary taught for many years at Xavier with Father Matthews and he can certainly testify to the truth of that statement and with one addition. This kindness and this personal interest were not limited to the boys he taught but embraced all the students in the school. It is safe to say that no teacher at Xavier knew more students by name than he did. He took the deepest interest in every activity in which the school engaged, and always made it a point to congratulate everybody who had done well in any contest. The personal touch was not lost on the students, for it is doubtful if anybody had greater influence on them. Indeed the write-ups in the school paper frequently referred to Father Matthews as Father Xavier.

This interest in Xavier and its students prompted him to establish the Press Club which kept the secular and diocesan papers supplied with material about the activities at Xavier.

Another point concerning his interest in the students received no publicity. Somehow or other he frequently found out the home difficulties with which some students had to contend, and immediately he went to work on them. Nobody will ever know the amount of good he did in this field. Father Matthews was not reticent when he thought he should speak out, and I do not doubt that many a parent is grateful to-day for the things he told them in his plain but forceful way. Sometimes he would have them come to the school to see him, but he was also a believer in the telephone. And it was very difficult to deceive him.

Devotion to the Poor

No one should be surprised to learn that Father Matthews had a tender and Christlike devotion to the poor. He did not hesitate to ask his friends to beg for what was needed, and many a gift that was sent to him was turned over to somebody in need. A typical example of this may be taken from a letter written by the father of a former Gonzaga student. He writes: "Father Matthews arrived at Gonzaga at the height of the depression. The families of many of the students were hard hit and Father Matthews devoted much time and effort to helping the boys of those families. I believe he knew every boy in the student body by his first name or nickname. The pocket of his cassock was always filled with cafeteria coupons, and he was constantly on the alert to be sure no boy went hungry."

This same gentleman tells that now and then Father Matthews visited his home, and goes on to relate the following incident. "On one of these occasions he asked to see the closet where I kept my clothing. He took out each garment and questioned me as to how frequently I wore it or when I wore it last. If the reply indicated that I wore it infrequently, he put it aside. At the end of the inspection he gathered up the clothes that he had separated and informed me that he knew some boys who would be very glad to wear them every day if they had them, instead of leaving them in the closet to become

fodder for the moths." And the clothes went back to Gonzaga with Father Matthews.

It is not always easy to keep in touch with one's former students, but again in this field Father Matthews had extraordinary success,—a success which demanded much letter writing; and that, as we all know, means lots of hard work. This explains why so many college students home for holidays or service men back on furloughs made it a point to get to 16th Street to chat with their old teacher, and, what is more important, to seek his advice on their problems. They knew he would lend them an attentive ear just as he had always done when they were in school.

Perhaps it will be a bit difficult to make clear the following point, but we who lived with him at 16th Street can vouch for the truth of it. While Father Matthews had a host of what we might call "personal friends," (and perhaps all his friends could be thus classed), he had an extraordinary knack for making these people friends of Xavier High School, friends of Saint Francis Xavier Church, friends of our foreign missions, friends of the poor in whom he was interested. He wanted nothing for himself. As a matter of fact, during his years at Xavier he seldom left the house except for visits to his mother, or to call on the sick, or pay his respects to the dead. From all that has been said it is clear that he took seriously, and put into practice, both the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. That is why so many people looked upon him as a truly Christlike priest, unselfish and anxious to spend himself in the interests of others.

Throughout the years of his priesthood Father Matthews missed no opportunities to preach. While he was stationed in Brooklyn, Washington, 84th Street and 16th Street he was frequently seen in the pulpits of our churches, and it should be noted that he always gave a well-prepared and forceful sermon. While he was Minister at Saint Ignatius, New York, 1932-1936, he was the regular preacher each Sunday at the children's mass, a task which he loved. For a number of years he was the Moderator of the parish League of the Sacred Heart at 16th Street, and in the afternoon on the third Sunday of the month one could hear him giving his talk to the Promoters in the students' chapel. He also loved to give re-

treats to laymen, and spent many summers at Mount Manresa, Staten Island, helping out at the retreat house and giving many of the retreats himself.

After telling of the very active life that Father Matthews lived, it may seem strange to add that for a number of years before his death he was in very poor health. He had diabetes, a very bad heart and high blood pressure. How he could keep on working, keep up his interest in everything at 16th Street, and keep his sense of humor, was a mystery to all of us. That, however, was precisely what he did. And, in order not to be idle in vacation time, for the last few years of his life he took on the fairly active duty of serving as chaplain at Saint Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island. As a matter of fact, it was through personal illness that he became acquainted with this Staten Island hospital of the Sisters of Charity. Perhaps it would be good to quote here from a letter written by one of the Sisters who knew him there through a number of years. This devoted Sister writes: "Back in the summer of 1941 was my first meeting with Father, when he gave the monthly conferences to the Sisters at Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York. His conferences were always simple but inspiring, always a lesson to take to ourselves. He never gave out anything but what he practised himself, whether he was talking on prayer, charity, love of God or our neighbor. In 1947 when he suffered his first coronary at Mount Manresa, Staten Island and was brought to Saint Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island, we knew him better. There we witnessed his spiritual life, his love to offer Mass, even many times when it was a great effort, his constant prayerfulness in his room, with his breviary, his prayer book and his rosary in his hands, many, many times during the day and night. He could handle a man with a problem where a Sister would not be successful. A Sister would tell him about Mr. So-and-so, who had not been to the sacraments for years. Father would drop into see this man three, four or five times a day, but he would get him back to the sacraments. He brought many back to the sacraments, had marital difficulties settled, marriages righted. People approached him with all types of problems. In confession he was always gentle and kind, but there was always a word of advice."

It should be remembered that these activities of Father Matthews took place at a time when he was supposed to be a patient. It seems that the old expression, "You couldn't keep him down," applied to Father Matthews in a special way.

Illness

It was not until 1956 that health kept Father Matthews out of the classroom for any length of time. On January 13th, 1956, he was taking his class down to Larkin Hall (formerly the lower church at 16th Street) when he missed a step near the bottom of the stairs and landed on both knees on the concrete floor. He was taken to Saint Vincent's Hospital, New York, where it was found that the ligaments all around the knees were badly crushed. Father's good friends, Dr. John Keating and Dr. John Lawler, both fathers of Xavier students, took excellent care of him, and after a short time Dr. Lawler performed identical operations on both knees. The healing process, however, kept him in the hospital for the rest of the school year. It might be remarked here that, if a Jesuit wanted to see Father Tom during these months, it was wise not to go to Saint Vincent's in the afternoon because the room was usually crowded with Xavier boys. And that was the way he wanted it, for he wanted to keep in touch with his boys.

During the school year beginning in 1956 Father Tom was back on the scene on a somewhat curtailed teaching schedule, but he was just as active as could be humanly expected. Due to his lameness he was now using a cane with which he frequently threatened the heads of some of the Xavier cadets. But all knew that he was back on the job, and his Press Club office (which was frequently referred to as the hole in the wall) became just as busy as ever.

During the summer of 1957 Saint Vincent's Hospital on Staten Island once more welcomed Father Matthews as its summer chaplain. This was a work dear to his heart, and, perhaps, he overdid things, for on August 15th he suffered a severe coronary thrombosis. This serious heart condition kept him in that hospital for a whole year. And that, sad to say, marked the end of his teaching career. It did not, however, mark the end of his interest in the school and its stu-

dents. In September of 1958 he came back to Xavier and took up once again his work with his Press Club and a few other activities. But his heart could not stand the pace, and after some time he was taken to Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York. For a long time it was a case of in bed and out of bed, but at the beginning of April, 1959, there was a marked deterioration of the heart.

One of the nurses who took care of Father Matthews at this time was the sister of a boy whom he had known at school. She has written a letter in which she has given an account of his last hours and death, and I shall quote some of the pages she has written on his last hours which made a deep impression on her. She writes: "The first morning I entered Father Thomas Matthews' room I was met by what appeared to be a dying man. However, much to my surprise, Father opened his eyes immediately and greeted me with, "Hi, Pat, I'm glad to see you." I corrected the "Pat" but Father explained that he always associated me with my brother Pat, and hence called me by that name. Throughout the days he would look at each doctor who came in and greet him by name, with a personal joke for each. Occasionally when his brothers would begin praying out loud Father would laugh and say, 'Not yet.' I left that first evening sure that Father would not last the night. However, the next day he was as clear as ever. A few of the interns and residents who stopped by were Father's former students, and he greeted each by name. When they left, Father would say something particular about each, "Good Student," "Sterling Character," etc. I didn't go to lunch that day because the end seemed overdue. It is impossible to have no blood pressure and no pulse, and yet appear almost well. Finally about twelve noon I decided to change the linen on Father's bed. The moving caused him considerable discomfort and he said: "You really mustn't like me." I felt badly but knew he'd feel better after. He did, thanked me and said: "Please call in my brothers. In a little while I'm going to heaven." I ran to the waiting-room, and the five brothers came in and stood by Father's bedside. He raised his head and in his hand he held his beads. He opened his eyes and looked around. At this time the doctor was again trying to get an infusion started. Father again

spoke in a loud, clear voice, with no trace of shortness of breath. He again told everyone that he was dying and then proceeded to say an act of contrition. He asked God to forgive all the sins of his past life. Next, I believe, he recited the prayers for the dying in unison with his brothers in Latin. He then received absolution from each of his priest brothers (Father John, S.J., of Woodstock, Father Edward, C.M., of Saint John's University, and Father Charles, S.J., of Fordham). The doctor finally got the needle in Father's arm. He looked up at the doctor, smiled and said, "Another round," sighed and went into a coma. Father died peacefully at 7:30 p.m. It was April 10th. I have seen many people die, but none have done it as well as Father. This experience will always be an inspiration to me, and I am honored to be the recipient of his rosary beads. I have prayed often on them and always remember my last forty-eight hours with Father Matthews."

The Love of Friends

Father Matthews' friends did not forget him in death. Former students and parents of former students came in great numbers to the students' chapel to pay their respects to him. His funeral was a most unusual one, with his three priest brothers celebrating simultaneous requiem masses at the three front altars of Saint Francis Xavier's church before a crowded congregation of priests and lay people. And I am sure that many that day recalled very vividly a day in 1953 when they commemorated Father Tom's twenty-fifth ordination anniversary by witnessing the four priest brothers celebrate simultaneous masses in the same church while their saintly mother knelt in a front pew. On the morning of Father Tom's funeral she was not there, for she had been laid to rest before he was.

Mr. Michael O'Donnell, a lay teacher at Xavier for the past forty-five years, is well known to all Xavierites. Father Matthews came to Xavier in 1940, and these kindred spirits became close friends. Mr. O'Donnell is a shrewd schoolman of the old type, and I would like to quote some of the things he wrote after Father Matthews' funeral because he seems to sum up very beautifully what Father Tom meant to Xavier, to its stu-

dents and to its teachers. Mr. O'Donnell, being a Tipperary man, has a glowing style of his own, but whenever he says anything it comes from the heart and he means every word of it. I give you some of the things he wrote, for it is probably a good idea to get the testimony of a good layman who knew Father Tom well and appreciated his worth. Mr. O'Donnell writes: "For fifteen years of my acquaintance with him I was assigned to teach algebra in Father Tom's classes. Through this close alliance with him during all of these years I learned much about his manner of life and character. Verily his life work could be summed up in the Jesuit motto, *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam;* his character in the motto, *Suaviter in Modo, Fortiter in Re.* Father Tom knew well the part that human nature and its concomitants play in reaching one's destiny. Hence his increasing concern for the temporal welfare of his students. He knew the environment, habits and home life of his students as an author knows the characters in his book. To achieve this personal knowledge of his students he gave unstintingly of his time, talents and human endurance, oftentimes in places far removed from the classroom. Whenever I went to him to complain that some of his students were doing poorly in algebra he would invariably reply: 'Leave that to me, Mike, I'll take care of that matter.' In the afternoon of the same day he would take these recalcitrant students aside and put them back on the right road.' As was his wont in such cases, he would enlighten me the next day as to the causes of their failure. With these facts to work on I became convinced that the home life and environment of these inept students were to blame. One lesson in teaching that I learned from Father Tom was that some students cannot be taught effectively if the teacher is ignorant of their background, that is of their home training, environment, companions. To use a colloquial expression, he always 'went to bat' for his students, no matter what their difficulties were. Especially was this true whenever his students needed aid, whether that aid was of a spiritual or temporal nature. Although Father Tom always kept the other teachers of his class well informed as to the lackadaisical habits of some of his students, he never maligned the character of any one of them in any way. No, his heart was too big for that. Is it

any wonder then that his students, especially those who needed his special care and attention, admired and loved him? For these students Father Tom was Xavier personified; hence his famous title 'Father Xavier.' In his little hole-in-the-wall office, Father Tom's cabin as many of his students affectionately called it, he held forth mornings before class and afternoons after class to help any student who needed aid or enlightenment, whether of a spiritual or temporal nature. This chore, which was most dear to his heart, he performed for any student who wished to take advantage of it. If the walls and ceiling of that room had ears, what tales they could tell of devotion to duty and love of humanity on the part of Father Tom! Over the lintel of the door of that tiny room should be inscribed on a plaque the following inscription: 'Father Tom's Sanctum Sanctorum'."

Books of Interest to Ours

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE FAR EAST

The Church at the Gateway of India. *By J. H. Gense, S.J.* Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1960. Pp. 479. $3.00.

When in Rome on my way to Bombay in 1937, I was reminded that Bombay was under the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs. A dubious dignity, perhaps, but as a title, quite impregnable.

The author of this book is a Dutch Jesuit who has spent most of his long life in Bombay. He received from my successor, Cardinal Gracias, all the access to archives that was needed and some helpful advice as well. He probably did not think it practicable to consult me as the only ex-Archbishop of Bombay alive, for I was either in England or America while the book was in the making. Anyway, I knew nothing of his plan until the book was placed in my hands last October.

Very properly, the bulk of the work concerns history long past, but as those events determined my inheritance, I can best respond to the kind invitation of the Editor by filling in the picture as I saw it in 1937.

Knowing from my predecessor, Archbishop Goodier, that Portugal was still the source of assets and liabilities to Catholic Bombay (my bull of appointment mentioned the *placet* of the Portuguese government) I betook myself to Lisbon immediately after my consecration. There, by the good offices of the Rector of the English Seminary, I made contact with Signor Salazar (to whom the privileges of the *Padroado* or

Royal Protection of Eastern Catholicism are enormously important) and all government officials concerned.

That visit yielded rich dividends: for instance, I found on arrival that, as one relic of a double jurisdiction involving two rival Catholic bishops in Bombay, two parishes claimed personal jurisdiction so imperfectly defined that no parishes at all had ever been delimited—no responsibilities, therefore, determined. The very subject, I was warned, was "dynamite," and had always been so treated. Yet, when the people learned that a complete division of some fifty city parishes had been made, they were also told that the Portuguese Consul General had given, and had notified to Lisbon, his full consent. The point is worth making, to counter the notion that the conflict of Propaganda with *Padroado* was always as bitter as, in effect, much of it was.

The student of ecclesiastical history has much to learn from Bombay as an extraordinary affair. Father Gense has performed a useful service in bringing the story up to date. May the Second Vatican Council profit by the lesson.

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS ROBERTS, S.J.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE EARLY DAYS

Julian the Apostate. *By Giuseppe Ricciotti.* Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1960. Pp. x-275, maps and plates. $4.75.

As the latest addition to R's growing list of translated works into English, *Julian the Apostate* is a question mark. Written as a sequel to the author's *The Age of Martyrs* (Milwaukee, 1959), R claims in this book the role of a "contemporary historian [who] should make use of all the reliable sources still extant and strive to display in equal light [Julian's] many laudable qualities and his numerous defects." One might well hesitate to say the purpose has been achieved.

The plan of the book is simple. Through fifteen chapters Ricciotti strives to paint Julian as a man victimized by circumstances, whose life began and ended with tragedy. A witness in childhood to the murder of members of his family, he seems never to have recovered from the shock. He was the contemporary of Gregory of Nazianzus and of Basil; but his tutors and close associates were either Arians or pagan Hellenizers. His mother's tutor, Mardonius, injected into him love for the pagan authors to the exclusion of Christian literature. The author makes frequent use of passages from Julian's works and he shows him gradually assimilating Hellenic thought, and finally dedicating himself to the cause of idolatry. This explains much of Julian's career and his policy when he became Emperor. He turned out to be a good soldier, reconquering Gaul for his cousin; he was a capable administrator—quite unexpected in one with so pronounced a tendency to mysticism! And if the circumstances that catapaulted him to the throne are any index, he was well-liked by his troops! But what made him the man whom history would know as "The Apostate" was the time, the effort, and the love he devoted to his Hellenic meditations.

The focal point of this study, therefore, should have been an analysis

of the historical accident that resulted in Julian's Hellenism, namely, the failure of the Christian Eusebius to guide him during his tender years. The author does make an attempt to explain Julian's anti-Christian animus, greatly enhanced by the "mental outlook . . . of a mystic, much more intuitive and enthusiastic than reasoned and calm." One wonders if a case has been made! If it is the historian's task to probe into the meaning of documents in the light of their context, one has the impression that it is precisely in this area that the present study is deficient. References to original sources are plentiful; but, what do they mean? Such a question, for example, as the literary form of Julian's writings seems not to have been investigated. Until this and other related questions are settled, one should be very wary of conclusions.

JOSÉ S. ARCILLA, S.J.

PORTRAIT OF A MODERN SCHISMATIC

Religious Revolution in the Philippines. Life and Church of Gregorio Aglipay, 1860-1940. Volume One: 1860-1940. *By Pedro S. de Achútegui, S.J. and Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1960. Pp. xiv, 578. Cloth, 8 pesos; paper, 5 pesos.

There are four elements that must be identified in order to explain a schism: a complaint, an aggrieved party, a *semblance* of truth, and, most important, an organizing genius that will give unity and form to these elements. The present volume does just that. It marshals the elements that brought about the phenomenon of a schismatic church in the Philippines, a country traditionally regarded as *the* Catholic nation in the Far East. The co-authors have had to hunt after unpublished and uncollected data, besides critically evaluating already existing publications on the subject. The result is history at its best, a scholarly piece of writing that offers the reader an insight into the man Gregorio Aglipay and the schism that bears his name. From now on, writers on the subject will have to be guided by this book, which sifts fact from fiction, popular tradition from authentic record, blatant exaggeration from simple truth.

The Philippine Independent Church (more commonly, the Aglipayan Church) was born in a context of political unrest in the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century. Filipino intellectuals, imbued with ideas of nationalism and liberalism learned from abroad, were loud in their denunciation of Spanish absolutism. But in a country where the State worked in close union with the Church, it was easy to extend grievances and accuse the Church of worse crimes.

Gregorio Aglipay was a Roman Catholic priest. When Spanish rule was challenged in 1896, he was named head of the Catholic Church by the revolutionary government. He accepted the post and proceeded to perform certain actions that were the prerogative of bishops. This brought him afoul of Church law and the excommunication pronounced against him proved to be the beginning of the Aglipayan schism. Various reasons were alleged, both by the revolutionists and by Aglipay himself, justifying the latter's position, the most frequently repeated

being that independence from Spanish political domination was incomplete without emancipation from the spiritual jurisdiction of the Spanish clergy. There was not much logic in the argument, but those were times of stress and misunderstanding when personal emotions were at fever-pitch! It was an appeal to patriotism that won over not a few Filipinos to the side of Aglipay and provided the necessary numbers to support a formal schism. However, it would have perhaps remained only a personal disciplinary problem of Aglipay without any appreciable effect on the Church in the Philippines, were it not for one man, whose impulsive character forced issues to a head and gave birth to a schismatic church. This was the agitator, imprisoned by both the Spanish and the American governments, Don Isabelo de los Reyes, Sr., a man four years younger than Aglipay. A voracious but not too intelligent reader, it was Reyes who wrote almost all the books of the movement. At first claiming doctrine identical with Roman Catholic dogma, his writings soon because anti-Catholic and thoroughly rational. The irony of it is that de los Reyes, whose pen gave visible form to the dogmas of Aglipayanism, died a Catholic; Aglipay apparently died unreconciled to the Church.

There is a profound lesson in the story of Aglipay. With the schismatic church that bears his name, he is perhaps the most telling testimony to the blunder of Spain in her policy regarding the native clergy. The tragedy of Aglipay is the tragedy of a man, who, after decades of subjection, finds power sweet to the taste, even if it meant stilling the voice of conscience. Aglipay could not have been ignorant of the consequences of his actions when, appointed military vicar general by the revolutionary government, he issued the decrees that brought down on his head the severest ecclesiastical sanction. As a matter of fact, the authors are at pains to show that he was never at peace with himself, and short of taking the one necessary step, always sought to rectify his actions.

The book has three appendices, three indices of persons, places, and subject matter, plus graphs and maps. A few misprints do not affect the value of the book. This is a good book, likely to revolutionize existing theories about Gregorio Aglipay.

José S. Arcilla, S.J.

THE OLD FRONTIER

Jesuits in Montana: 1840-1960. *By Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J.* Portland: The Oregon-Jesuit, 1960. Pp. 120. $1.00.

Unfortunately the T.V. Westerns with their emphasis on violence, rough and tumble antics and romance have so captivated the imagination of their American audiences that some of the real heroes of America's fascinating and romantic West have been shunted into the background. Father Schoenberg has resurrected some of these unsung heroes—priests, brothers, Indians, miners, pioneers—in his delightful popular survey of the Montana missions.

In this booklet, one of several on the Oregon Province Jesuits, the

author has described briefly the establishment and further development of each mission and parish in the 120 years under consideration. He focuses on the trials, successes, failures, joys and sorrows of the leading figures in this mission history. Highlights of their facinating and at time boisterous life on the frontier have been recounted as a sampling of their intriguing story.

Well-known Jesuits like Fathers Peter DeSmet and Louis Taelman, Brothers James Galdos and Carignano, in company with the Flatheads, Kalispels, Crows, and other Indians, pass quickly in review. Delineating missionary life in the west, Father Schoenberg describes many problems of the frontier: Indian superstitions; uncontrolled hostility of many whites to both missionaries and Indians; the United States government's inept handling of Indian affairs; and the anti-Catholic results of the Indian policy, so ably described by Father Peter Rahill in *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884.*

Since the author's approach has been in the popular vein, there are no footnotes, bibliography, or index. Although the student of history might well recognize the source of some of the material, still the inclusion of at least a bibliography would have been welcome.

FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN, S.J.

A THEOLOGY CLASSIC

The Resurrection. *By F. X. Durrwell, C.SS.R.* Translated by Rosemary Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960. Pp. xxvi-371. $6.00.

In his forword Father Durrwell states that our concept of the resurrection has been reduced to a mere personal triumph of Christ, to a glorious revenge over the forces of Satan; the value of Christ's rising from the dead springs from its apologetical role in the genesis of faith. As a result, the resurrection has lost the tremendous significance that it once had in the early Church. By a careful analysis of the resurrection as it appears in the New Testament, especially in the writings of St. Paul, Father Durrwell attempts to restore the resurrection to its proper role in the history of salvation; in this endeavor the author is eminently successful.

Man's redemption involves a twofold aspect: freedom from sin and restoration to a state of justice. It is this latter aspect of redemption for which the resurrection is vital. St. Paul states clearly that Christ rose for our justification. This is the starting point for Father Durrwell. The redemption of man is portrayed in Christ as a transformation from the state of sinful flesh to the holiness of divine life. Christ's death is a means to this glorification, but it is the resurrection that accomplishes the definitive passage from carnal humanity, where sin and death rein, to spiritual humanity, a life of holiness and glory lived in the Spirit. It is the Spirit, poured out on Christ's humanity at the resurrection, that accomplishes this transformation. Raised by the Spirit, Christ in turn becomes the life-giving spirit, the source of the Spirit for all incorporated into his glorified humanity. The resurrec-

tion thus marks a new beginning for Christ; glorified by the Spirit, He is now Son-of-God-for-us; dying with Christ, we rise with Him to this new life of the Spirit; our regeneration and life of grace comes to us through incorporation into Christ, into the risen Christ.

Having described the effects of the resurrection in Christ and its general role in the redemption of man, the author then specifies the relation of the resurrection to the Church. Easter marks the birth of the Mystical Body. Because of the outpouring of the Spirit at the resurrection, Christ now communicates life to us through his humanity; He assimilates us into the life of his glorified humanity so as to make us in turn members of his body. The Church, living in the risen Christ, now moves toward the total possession of Christ in the Parousia.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this book. As a work of profound theological significance, it should be read and pondered by theologian and layman alike. All will profit from its many rich insights into the nature of the Christian life, and the dual role of the risen Christ and the Spirit in Christian justification. The French original of this book first appeared in 1950. It is now in its fifth edition, and has been widely acclaimed in Europe as a theological classic. There is every reason to believe that this English edition will meet with equal success.

DONALD J. MOORE, S.J.

LITURGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Fundamentals of the Liturgy. *By John H. Miller, C.S.C.* Notre Dame: Fides Publishers, 1960. Pp. xvii-531. $6.00.

Father Miller has faced one of the major problems confronting the liturgical apostolate in our country at this time: if our central and fundamental need is for *understanding*, for the communication of the *meaning* of the liturgy, it is at once evident that the education of priests and religious will demand our first attentions in the present situation. There is a growing awareness of the need for the reorganization of seminary courses in liturgy. Father Miller takes a first step to meet that need by presenting to us a textbook which he hopes will "lay a solid foundation for the seminarian, the religious, and the lay apostle who is learning the tools of his sacred trade." His thesis is that, from a pastoral point of view, "the priest is the teacher, guide, and sanctifier of God's people. If his life does not spring from the Liturgy, if it is not the center of his life, he will not be a priest first but only second, and even then not the priest who is supposed to guide the people to Christ."

The structure of this book, however, seems to run contrary to the author's stated intention of introduction. One hundred and thirty pages of the book's five hundred and more pages of text are spent before the student will reach the more properly theological consideration of the liturgy (Structural Elements of the Liturgy, The Mass, The Divine Office, The Liturgical Year, The Sacraments and Sacramentals). It is true that the first chapter (The Nature of the Liturgy) isolates liturgy from the other theological disciplines, but it is questionable whether the

analysis proposed, executed largely from papal documents, is a thoroughly suitable *introduction* to the meaning of liturgy.

The early chapters of the book (Liturgical Families of Christendom, Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite, Liturgical Places) present excellent historical summaries of their subject matter and are amply documented to provide the student with some of the principal sources for further study. But the chapters devoted to the Mass, the Sacraments, etc., might well have received a more complete treatment from the point of view of Scripture and a theology of the Church, for though they display an impressive mastery of the history of ritual and rubrical legislation, the master theological ideas remain without sufficient development.

Father Miller's scholarly work should provoke keen interest among the theological faculties of American seminaries; but they will probably find that its proper place will be as a companion volume to a more thoroughly theological text.

JOHN J. GALLEN, S.J.

BARGAIN OF THE YEAR

New Testament Reading Guide. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1960. $0.30 each.

1. Introduction to the New Testament. *By Roderick A. F. MacKenzie, S.J.* Pp. 47.
2. Gospel of Saint Mark. *By Gerard S. Sloyan.* Pp. 127.
3. Gospel of Saint Luke *By Carroll Stuhlmueller, C.P.* Pp. 97.
4. Gospel of Saint Matthew. *By David M. Stanley, S.J.* Pp. 97.
5. Acts of the Apostles. *By Neal M. Flanagan, O.S.M.* Pp. 108.
6. Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, 1-2 Thessalonians. *By Bruce Vawter, C.M.* Pp. 65.
7. Epistles to the Galatians, Romans. *By Barnabas M. Ahern, C.P.* Pp. 96.
8. First and Second Corinthians. *By Claude J. Peifer, O.S.B.* Pp. 113.
9. Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon. *By Mother Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J.* Pp. 80.
10. Saint Paul's Pastoral Epistles. *By Robert T. Siebeneck, C. PP. S.* Pp. 72.
11. Epistle to the Hebrews. *By John F. McConnell, M.M.* Pp 72.
12. Epistles of Saints James, Jude, Peter. *By Eugene H. Maly.* Pp. 73.
13. Gospel of Saint John and the Johannine Epistle. *By Raymond E. Brown, S.S.* Pp. 128.
14. The Book of the Apocalypse. *By William G. Heidt, O.S.B.*

The *New Testament Reading Guide* is a collection of fourteen paperback introductions and commentaries to each book of the New Testament. Its authors are members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America and not a few have published widely in scholarly theological and Biblical periodicals. One, Father Vawter, is the author of the popular *A Path through Genesis.*

Father MacKenzie's admirable booklet introduces us not only to the New Testament but to the scholarly and balanced spirit found throughout the *Guide*. This brief introduction confines itself to the minimal discussion of the historical and literary data needed for understanding the human background of the New Testament but avoids any formal or lengthy treatment of strictly theological questions. The sections on "The Political Background" of the Roman world and on the "Religious Groupings" within Judaism are especially well written. There are also sections on the Apostolic Church and teaching, on the method of composition of the New Testament books in general and their literary history after the Apostolic era. The author is quite successful in giving a positive approach to the historical and literary questions involved and in avoiding any apologetical or negative attitudes.

The *Guide* has also provided a good general introduction to the Pauline Epistles and shorter introductions to each individual book of the New Testament. These shorter introductions have the same general format: origin of the writing (author, occasion, method of composition, etc.), plan, outline, theological doctrine.

The Confraternity edition of the New Testament text is used throughout and is printed in double columns of small, heavy type at the top of each page. The use of this text without any revisions may cause some difficulties since the authors in their commentaries not infrequently quote their own translations without noting that it differs from that of the Confraternity text. But a little reflection should readily solve this difficulty for most readers.

The actual commentary is printed in much larger type across the bottom in a single column. The commentaries are written in the form of a continuous and uninterrupted explanation of a whole passage. If the author has special notes on a word or phrase, he merely incorporates these notes into his running commentary. Thus there are no footnotes to individual words or phrases, nor are there any reference numerals or letters other than the chapter and verse numbers of the New Testament. This format has several advantages. First, it enables the reader to use the commentary with the original Greek text or with any translation since all reference numerals are to the chapters and verses of the New Testament. Secondly, if the reader is familiar with the New Testament, he can read the commentary straight through without referring to the actual text, since the authors comment in a running and continuous fashion on whole passages rather than on isolated words and verses. Finally, the verse numbers in the margin next to the body of the commentary allow the reader to find at once what the author has to say on any given passage.

To dismiss these commentaries as just another textbook or popular manual on the New Testament would be a mistake. Like all commentaries they synthesize the research found in the technical journals, but they do so in a scholarly, clear, well-balanced, and even original manner. For this reason these commentaries will be of great value to religion and theology teachers, seminarians, and even to priests. They will lead to an increased awareness of the significance of literary forms

and of the notion of salvation history for understanding the New Testament.

Yet we should not conclude that these booklets are too technical and difficult to be of interest and value to the intelligent layman. On the contrary, if contemporary Catholic New Testament criticism has discovered anything, it has been that a deeper understanding of the New Testament will help us to study these documents in the same spirit in which they had first been written, from faith to faith. For this reason there is no doubt that many of these booklets will become standard texts in college theology courses. But even many college-bound high school students could draw great profit from large portions of these commentaries, especially from those on the Gospels and Acts.

The use of these commentaries by students is also facilitated by the series of review aids and discussion topics at the end of each booklet. These questions are well thought out, thorough, and comprehensive, and demand a detailed knowledge of both text and commentary.

The Liturgical Press deserves the greatest thanks for the valuable service it has performed in publishing, most inexpensively, the above series. The editorial committee is to be congratulated for the successful accomplishment of a difficult task: to get fourteen different authors to compose commentaries on the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and at the same time to maintain a high degree of uniformity. Finally, we must admire the booklets' attractive covers which reproduce colored photographs of ancient documents, Palestinian scenes and works of art relating to the New Testament.

JOHN J. MAWHINNEY, S.J.

SOME LITURGICAL PROBLEMS

The Dynamics of Liturgy. *By H. A. Reinhold.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. Pp. xx-146. $4.75.

This book is a collection of essays written over the last twenty years. Like any collection, the essays vary in significance for the time of their re-publication. The first essay gives a brief history of the liturgical movement and Maria Laach, and the beginnings of the liturgical movement in the U.S. Other chapters comment on liturgy and the arts, i.e. architecture and music; vernacular in the liturgy; the liturgical meaning of Lent, of the Christmas cycle; liturgy and devotion.

Father Reinhold points out the lack of meaning and character in the devotions of so large a number of Catholics today. Their devotions are without cosmic character. They have formed a religion of escape from the realities of the world they live in. Also, in a time when we see so vividly the evils of the Communist effort to break up the family, we proceed to do the same thing by the stress put on special Communion days for little groups in the parish in place of the custom of family Communion.

With those in favor of a vernacular liturgy, the author believes that a vernacular liturgy must become a fact if the people are truly to take a part in the Mass, but he warns that this is not a simple task. It is not just a matter of a translation; it must be a good translation with the

power and force of the present Latin. In the same manner, in regard to music in the liturgy, we must not confuse popularity with vulgarity. In building new churches, the present generation must express itself with a vitality and modernity comparable to the ages which produced the great churches of the past. Father Reinhold gives a series of questions for determining whether or not a church achieves the modern ideal in architecture.

Not all the author has to say will please everyone, but it is obvious that for a successful liturgical movement there is need of much patience, understanding, hard work—a will to adjust without sacrificing standards. Father Reinhold shows himself to be of this mind.

F. Greene, S.J.

POPULAR GOSPEL STUDY

The Four Gospels: An Historical Introduction. *By Lucien Cerfaux.* Translated by Patrick Hepburne-Scott. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1960. Pp. xxii-145. $3.00.

Pauline scholar, Canon Cerfaux, has written a useful popularization on the formation of the gospel traditions. After discussing the meaning of the word "gospel" and the development of the Apostolic tradition, he devotes a chapter to each of the four gospels, in which he covers the following points: origin and present form, plan, doctrine, some questions raised by modern criticism. The sections on the plan include helpful outlines of each gospel. The discussions of the synoptic and Johannine problems and the treatment of the theory of various traditions are well presented.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that so much emphasis is given to the modern criticism, which in this book almost exclusively means Loisy's criticism. Since space does not allow for an adequate discussion either of the shortcomings or of the positive contribution of this criticism, the author can leave only a negative and apologetical impression. Consequently, though the importance of this position can hardly be overstated, we wonder whether the lay reader can gain any real insight into the significance of it all. It would seem that in a popular book of this type space might have been more profitably employed to furnish a deeper appreciation of the positive contributions of contemporary scholarship on the meaning of the gospels.

Other chapters treat of the gradual disappearance of the oral tradition, the Apocrypha, the recourse to the written tradition of the canonical gospels and the influence of Gnosticism and of the Alexandrian School. Finally, the author devotes a chapter to the importance of the gospels in the spiritual, liturgical, and intellectual life of the Church in the first two centuries.

Though this popularization is less deep and more conservative than some other recent publications on the Bible (e.g., MacKenzie's *The Two-Edged Sword*), it still would be useful supplementary reading for a course in the gospels. Of course, it is not meant to be read apart from a study of the actual gospel texts.

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